

The Problem of Determinism
With Reference to the Qumran Scrolls
& the First Epistle of John

A Dissertation Presented to
The Faculty of Theology
of the University of Basel, Switzerland
for the Degree of Doctor of Theology

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CURRICULUM VITAE

George Roos Jenson was born 4 November, 1925, in Modesto, California, the son of Ernest Lewis and Barbara Estelle Jenson (née Roos). He attended elementary and High Schools in California and graduated from Pacific Union College in Angwin, California in 1947 with a B. A. degree, majoring in religion. He entered the clergy of the Seventh-day Adventist church in 1947 and served for four years as associate pastor of the Manteca and the Marysville-Yuba City districts. He was ordained in June, 1951.

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On Wednesday, February 24, 1982 he was examined for his Doktorprüfung in Basel by Professors Reicke, Schmidt and Lochman. Professor Lochman, rector of the University, was chairman of the examination. Following this oral examination, the candidate was awarded the degree Doctor of Theology, cum laude, in the presence of the examining professors and of friends who were present for the occasion.

Since November, 1979, the family has resided in Calimesa, in Southern California where they will continue to reside until such time as he resumes his duties for the Seventh-day Adventist church.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Possibly no event in modern times has so stimulated the religious world as the discovery of the ancient library of scrolls at a long forgotten site located on the northwestern side of the Dead Sea known as Khirbet Qumran. These scrolls are commonly called the "Dead Sea Scrolls". Their discovery has significantly changed the opinions of Biblical scholars concerning many aspects of Near East and Biblical studies. Jews and Christians alike have been particularly affected since the preliminary attempts to date the Scrolls and Scroll fragments — of which there are several thousands of the latter — indicate that this priceless literary and archaeological find is a valuable link between the pre-Christian and the Christian eras.

Since the discovery of the Scrolls and the initial awareness of their existence by scholars in the spring of 1947, thousands of books and articles have appeared in which translations of the Scrolls and studies of nearly every aspect of the culture, times and teachings of the Qumran community have been published. The original spate of publications, some of which subscribed to extreme and often controversial opinions, has been somewhat modified by more recent publications in which the authors, who have benefited by the accumulation of knowledge concerning the times and history of that period and also by having access to newly translated documents, have been able to comment upon the Scrolls from a better informed vantage point.

This present work seeks to investigate and assess any possible relationship of the Scrolls, especially the Manual of Discipline, to the First Epistle of John with particular reference to the concept of determinism. From the first, scholars sensed that there were similarities and parallelisms between certain passages in the Scrolls and sentiments

expressed in the First Epistle of John. The use of several antitheses and other rhetorical figures by the authors of the Scrolls to express their dualistic and markedly deterministic ethical and metaphysical concepts often parallel the use of similar or even identical antitheses and other literary figures in other literature of the epoch. The First Epistle of John is no exception. The problem is now to see to what extent the author of this Epistle employed parallel or similar figures and antitheses in his writings; and, to inquire whether or not he has used these figures and antitheses to portray similar dualistic and/or deterministic teachings.

At the outset, it is important to attempt a definition as to what is meant by the terms 'dualism' and 'determinism'. It is obvious that these terms can have meaning primarily within a well-defined context. The term 'dualism' indicates a two-fold division; for instance, the belief that two separate elements such as spirit and matter co-exist in the universe. It is the belief in the existence of good and evil as separate entities; and, it may mean the belief that the universe is the sphere in which God and the Devil oppose each other in an ethical-metaphysical conflict involving all of nature in general; and, human beings and other intelligences in particular.

In the consideration of the Qumran Scrolls and of the First Epistle of John, it is essential to understand certain basic presuppositions relating to primal causes such as God and the Devil; and, relating to sin and death, obedience and life, and righteousness and unrighteousness. For, the dualistic concepts of both literatures is set in the broader setting in which the aforesaid considerations, and others, are vital to the proper assessment of the dualism.

As to the meaning of the term 'determinism', it may signify the teaching that man is not a free agent, and that his actions and mental

activities are governed by causes and/or motives outside of his own will or volition. The term can have precise meaning in the broader frame of reference of the basic presuppositions of the thought system in which it is employed. In-as-much as both literatures with which this study is concerned are built upon basic presuppositions which set forth the existence and sovereignty of God as the Creator of the cosmos; and, of the existence of the Devil as the leader of the forces of evil within the cosmos, the term 'determinism' must be understood with direct reference to these basic ideas in each of the religions concerned as expressed in their separate writings.

Since the Qumran epoch overlaps with the primitive Christian era; and, since the communities involved were geographically in such close proximity, it is only natural to inquire whether certain similarities in their theological, metaphysical and ethical concepts could point to any instances of direct contact between the communities. Specifically, in-as-much as the Qumran epoch antedates the Christian period and the community to whom the First Epistle of John is addressed, it must be asked whether or not the Qumran literature and the teachings they contain could have been the source for any of the teachings expressed in the First Epistle of John; and most specifically, whether the literature of Qumran could have been the source for the dualistic or deterministic sentiments of the Epistle.

In-as-much as the issue of sources and relationships to other cultures and religions is involved, consideration will be given to some of the possible sources for the determinism which largely characterizes the Scrolls. It must be remembered that even though differing opinions have been expressed as to whether or not the people of the Qumran community were Essenes; there can be little doubt that they were Jews. And, their culture and literature ought to be studied primarily against

the background of their historical, theological and Scriptural heritage. The hundreds of instances in which the Scrolls either quote directly or else allude to the canonical writings of the Old Testament is most important in understanding their thought. At the same time, the discovery of the pseudepigraphical literature in their library; and the fact that within the Scrolls there are likewise numerous quotations from or allusions to passages taken from the books in this category must also be reckoned as significant in assessing some of the ideas which are found in their writings which may have no precedent in the canonical writings of the Old Testament.

That they considered themselves as exponents of the religion of their fathers and especially Moses is clear from the repeated allusions to Moses. Their concept of the 'covenant' is central to their whole religious outlook. Any effort to understand what was the chief motivation of the community must inevitably lead to the uniqueness of certain of their eschatological teachings. In this connection they sought to unite the identity of their community with all that was paramount in their past traditions with their concept as to what constituted their place in history and in the accomplishing of the will and purposes of God through them. Their dualistic and deterministic notions are an integral part of their doctrines in this respect.

Nor can one overlook the historical setting of the Qumran episode. The possibilities of points of contact between the Jewish culture and those of the Babylonian, Iranian, Greek and Egyptian civilizations, as well as with Indian and other Oriental influences, must be weighed in any effort to understand the Jewish culture of the period, including the Qumran community.

It must be borne in mind when studying the two communities that while one has continued to influence the world for nearly two millenia,

the Qumran episode is known to us today quite by chance. The shortness of their period of time and their limited number of adherents makes comparison something of an enigma. It is primarily the significance of their writings which has propelled their existence into such exaggerated prominence. The passing of time may well see the genuine value of the momentous discovery of the community and its literature evinced.

In comparing the Qumran Scrolls with the First Epistle of John it will be necessary to examine the use of the rhetorical figures giving particular attention to the use of the antitheses in a critical fashion with reference to each of the literatures involved. The dominance of the 'determinism' in the Qumran Scrolls must be examined by comparison with the central theme of the First Epistle of John, which is the 'agape' concept, to ascertain if there is in the Epistle a corresponding dualism and determinism to that which is found in the Scrolls. If there is a dualism and determinism in the Epistle, then there must be some explanation of the relationship of the 'agape' concept to these ideas. If, on the other hand, there is no 'determinism' in the Epistle, then the 'agape' concept must be examined in relationship to the dualism of the Epistle to see precisely how the 'agape' relates to the existence of man and to the possibility of man's having freewill.

A comparison will be made between the 'community of the believers' in the First Epistle of John and the 'community' as it was described in the Scrolls. And, in view of the fact that both literatures speak of the Devil (Belial in the Scrolls; 'diabolos' in the Epistle) in setting forth their cosmological dualism, the question must be raised as to whether this dualism represents one of equal opposing forces in the cosmos; or whether the literatures present a quasi-dualism in which the opposing force of evil exists in a powerful but subordinate estate. How does the nature of the dualistic views of each of the literatures relate to their

concept of God and to His sovereignty? Is the 'determinism' of the Scrolls a part of the sovereign activity of God in His creation? Does the 'agape' concept in the Epistle, in effect, replace the 'determinism' of the Scrolls in seeking to solve the problem raised by the presence of sin and evil in the cosmos created by God?

And, since the 'agape' concept of the Epistle centers around the doctrine of 'his Son Jesus Christ', and the reconciliation of the sinner with God because of the death of Jesus Christ, does this plan and purpose of God through Jesus Christ leave the individual the possibility of 'free-will'? Does the individual have any part to play in the unfolding reconciliation to God? Does the Epistle teach, as the Scrolls, that God has predetermined every aspect of the human existence and ultimate destiny of mankind?

This study will seek to present a critical examination of the basic teachings of the First Epistle of John and of the Qumran Scrolls and will then attempt to compare the findings relating to the ideas set forth in the preceding paragraphs in a systematic fashion. In the next chapter consideration will be given to the question of possible sources of the dualism and determinism of the Qumran Scrolls. Then, in succeeding chapters the Scrolls and the Epistle will be examined. A final brief chapter will conclude the study in which the findings will be summarized.

CHAPTER TWO

"SOME POSSIBLE NON-CANONICAL SOURCES FOR QUMRAN DETERMINISM AND DUALISM"

This subject, "Some Possible Non-Canonical Sources for Qumran Determinism and Dualism," is to be considered primarily within the historical-theological framework of that Jewish dualism and determinism which characterized certain Jewish literary expression during the two centuries immediately prior to the Christian era. The chief purpose of this and the following chapters is to delineate; and, where possible, to amplify some pertinent passages from Jewish non-Canonical literature of that period relating to the background of Qumranic dualism and determinism. Certain elements of comparison will be cited between those concepts in the literature of Qumran on the one hand (which will be dealt with more specifically in the following chapter) and parallelisms which are to be found in certain Jewish non-Canonical literature on the other hand. In considering the Qumranic dualism and determinism, it is necessary also to make a brief comparison between some of the Jewish concepts and selected ideas from ancient Persian and Greek thought—in-as-much as certain striking similarities may be noted.

Mention ought also to be made of the parallelisms between the antitheses of the Old Testament, the non-Canonical Jewish literature, the Qumran scriptures; and, particularly, the First Epistle of St. John (although the treatment of the letter will be deferred to a later chapter). There are differences also. A single instance at this juncture will be illustrative. For example,¹ in the Gospel of John, while it is

Bo Reicke, NTS (Cambridge) I 137-41, makes the distinction between the 'knowledge' (da'at) in the Scrolls and the 'gnosis' of gnosticism. It ought not to be equated, either, with modern intellectual knowledge. Driver, The Judean Scrolls, p. 564, suggests a possible development towards Jewish gnosticism in the use made of the word in the Scrolls. Addenda: The article by Bo Reicke cited above is dated 1954-55.

God who makes all things, it is actually the 'Word', ὁ λόγος, that performs the creative act (John i,3); whereas, in the Scroll's of Qumran it is God's knowledge that brings everything into existence (I QS iii, 15; iii,25; xi,11).

Inevitably, those who have had any interest in the Qumran literature have been drawn within the controversy as to who the inhabitants of Qumran were. Presently, there seems to be a widely accepted consensus that they were either Essenes or an 'Essene-like'² community. In accepting this consensus, it may be fitting to note briefly certain historical references to this sect. The evidence is scanty. However, mention of the Essene community is made in the writings of Philo,³ Josephus,⁴ Pliny,⁵ Dio,⁶ and Hippolytus.⁷ Other ancient Christian sources such as Eusebius, Porphyry, Origen and Epiphanius make mention of the community in ways which are either repetitious (Eusebius, in his Praeparatio Evangelica, VIII 11-12, evidently quotes directly from Philo, Apologia pro Judaeis) or else their mention of the community is either vague or uninformative.

With reference to the dualistic and deterministic concepts of the people of Qumran, the references of Josephus are among the most pertinent. He wrote,⁸ "There are three philosophical sects among the Jews

² James A. Sanders, "The Biblical Archaeologist", Vol. 36, 1973, 4; p. 125.

³ Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit. Loeb Classical Library series, Vol. IX, pp. 75-91; and also, De Vita Contemplativa IX, pp. 1-74.

⁴ War of the Jews, Book II, viii,2-14; Antiquities of the Jews, Book XIII,v,9; Book XVIII,i,5; and, Book XV,x,5.

⁵ Historia Naturalis V, XV, 73.

⁶ Dio Chrysostom, Loeb, V, pp. 378-79.

⁷ Philosophumena. Cf. Refutationes Omnium Haeresum, IX. 18-28. P. Wendland Edition.

⁸ Josephus. War of the Jews, Book II, viii, 2-14.

...the Pharisees;...the Sadducees; and the...Essenes." Concerning the views of each of these sects relative to determinism he was able from his own firsthand knowledge to pen a few words. For the Essenes he wrote these words:

"The doctrine of the Essenes is this: that all things are best ascribed to God." Antiquities of the Jews. XVIII i 5.

"But the sect of the Essenes affirm, that fate governs all things, and that nothing befalls men but what is according to its determination." Antiquities of the Jews. XIII v 9.

Concerning the sect of the Pharisees, Josephus wrote:

"These ascribe all to fate (or providence) and to God, and yet allow, that to act what is right, or the contrary, is principally in the power of men, although fate does cooperate in every action." War of the Jews. II viii 14. Cf. also Antiquities of the Jews. XVIII i 3.

"Now for the Pharisees, they say that some action, but not all, are the work of fate, and some of them are in our own power, and that they are liable to fate, but are not caused by fate." Antiquities of the Jews. XIII v 9.

Now, with reference to the Sadducees, he wrote:

"But the Sadducees...take away fate entirely, and suppose that God is not in our doing or not doing what is evil; and they say, that to act what is good, or what is evil, is at men's own choice, and that the one or the other belongs so to everyone, that they may act as they please." War of the Jews. II viii 14. Cf. also Antiquities of the Jews. XVIII i 4.

"And for the Sadducees, they take away fate and say there is no such thing, and that the events of human affairs are not at its disposal; but they suppose that all our actions are in our own power, so that we are ourselves the causes of what is good, and receive what is evil from our own folly." Antiquities of the Jews. XIII v 9.⁹

The knowledge of these variant ideas concerning determinism by these three sects of the Jews was gained by Josephus through direct acquaintance, for in his biographical account he states:

9

All of the quotations in this section are from The Works of Flavius Josephus, Translated by William Whiston. T. Nelson and Sons, London, 1870.

"...and when I was about sixteen years old, I had a mind to make trial of the several sects that were among us. These sects are three: —The first is that of the Pharisees, the second that of the Sadducees, and the third that of the Essens...for I thought that by this means I might choose the best, If I were, once acquainted with them all; so I...went through them all."¹⁰

The writings of Josephus, particularly his remarks concerning the variant viewpoints of the Jewish sects of his time relating to determinism, are further substantiated by other Jewish sources.

It is important, at this time, to consider the historical and literary sources of the dualism and determinism of the Qumran community. Did these ideas originate in their own crucible and from their own mentality? Or, did their authors draw from other pre-existent and/or contemporary sources as a basis for their teachings? The problem is complex and deserving of a more comprehensive treatment than can be given here. However, the meaning of the passages to be treated subsequently, taken from Qumran literature, will be better understood in the light of an understanding of some of the possible literary backgrounds and sources. Among these sources might be the Old Testament Canonical and non-Canonical literature. Divergent opinions prevail; but, there is support for this view. William LaSor finds the theology of Qumran to be the theology of Judaism, though allowing for the possibility of other influences:¹¹

"In the light of this study, it seems safe to conclude that the theology of Qumran...is the theology of Judaism...If we were to add any qualifying statements, we would be inclined to say that the Qumran Community stood closer to the apocryphal and apocalyptic writings of Judaism in the development of theology."¹²

T. Gaster, while acknowledging the possibility of Iranian influence upon Qumran thought¹³ has also written of the possible direct influence of

¹⁰ Josephus, Ibid. pp. 1,2.

¹² LaSor, Ibid. p. 103.

¹¹ William Sanford LaSor, The Dead Sea Scrolls, revised 1962, 98-

¹³ Theodor H. Gaster, The Dead Sea Scriptures, 1976, pp. 23-26.

103.

Jewish canonical and non-Canonical literature upon the formulation of the thought of the Qumran community:

"...it should be observed that just as many ideas and phrases in the Dead Sea Scrolls as can be paralleled from the New Testament can be paralleled equally well from the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament--that is, from the non-canonical Jewish 'scriptures' that were circulating between 200 B.C. and 100 A.D.--and from the earlier strata of the Talmud."¹⁴

Mention ought also to be made of the historical experiences of the Jewish nation; particularly, the captivity and other calamities which subsequently befell them, as being possible causes for the deepening of their deterministic sentiments. T. Gaster has written thus:

"Indeed, it is not difficult to conceive how, in the dark days of national eclipse, some at least of the Jews may have sought in Iranian dualism a more comforting explanation of the fate which had befallen them than that afforded by their own traditional doctrines. For, instead of having to believe that an outraged God had revoked His covenant with them, they could thus find hope and solace in the notion that what they were suffering was, after all, no more than a momentary triumph of Evil in its continuous struggle with Good..."¹⁵

Which statement not only concurs with the idea that the Jewish people might have derived their dualistic and deterministic concepts from out of the deepening sense of guilt associated with their national calamities; however, Gaster has pointed also to the possibility of their having found in the concepts of ancient Iranian dualism a basis for their dualistic and deterministic ideas. Before entering into the textual considerations of the Qumran Scrolls, brief consideration will be given to some of these possible sources.

It is suggested at this juncture that the quality or definition of that particular determinism and/or dualism which pertains to a specific religion or cult is generally determined by the basic presuppositions relating to deity and/or primal causes to which the religion

¹⁴

Ibid. p. 20.

¹⁵

Ibid. p. 24.

subscribes. To some extent, this may be said to be the case with the Jewish, early Iranian and Greek religious cults. Likewise, with the religion of the Qumran community. The various cultures of the Mediterranean world of the Qumran era must have been influenced by widely variant sources including Oriental Religions, Greek Philosophies, Persian dualism and Egyptian gnosticism. The Qumran community was probably no exception to this, as G. R. Driver has commented:

"Essenes and Therapeuts as well as Covenanters and to some extent Mandaean, breathed the same spiritual atmosphere. They found a vast stock of common ideas derived from various sources, e.g., the Old Testament and Jewish apocryphal literature, Persian dualism and Egyptian gnosticism, Oriental religions and Greek philosophies. Each group took what it wanted from this common stock, adapted it to its own purposes and in so doing transmuted it; but the transmutation was not always the same."¹⁶

The impact of Hellenistic thought upon the many cultures of the Mediterranean area has been the subject of numerous inquiries. The inroads of Greek philosophical thought upon Palestinian Jewish and Christian thought has also been well documented. And the possibility that the Qumran community drew from this source in seeking to establish their deterministic and dualistic concepts cannot be ignored.¹⁷ However, it is presently more frequently suggested (though not necessarily documented) that a more probable source of Qumran dualism and determinism may be

¹⁶

G. R. Driver, *The Judean Scrolls*, 1965, p. 569. As to the possibility of Egyptian influence upon the Qumran community, Driver has repeatedly asserted an 'Egyptian connection' between the thought of that land and the Qumran community; *Ibid.* pp. 175; 232-237; 446; 455; 479 and 530. Driver has attempted to construct a case for this Qumran-Egyptian inter-relationship built upon evidence which he concludes suggests that a faction of the Qumran community actually dwelt in Egypt for a time.

¹⁷

In particular reference to the possible influence of Greek thought upon the Qumran tradition, see K. Schubert, "Der gegenwärtige Stand der Erforschung der in Palästina neu gefundenen hebräischen Handschriften", (TLZ 78 (1953) 495-506; W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, rev. ed. (London, New York, 1955) 1-16; G. R. Driver, *The Judean Scrolls*, 76-77, 118, 532, 534; Cf. also, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J., "A Feature of Qumran Angelology and the Angels of I Cor. ii, 10", from *Paul and Qumran*, edited by Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, 1968, pp. 42-45--his references to Hellenistic influences are pertinent.

found in the ancient Zoroastrian teachings.¹⁸

Opinions vary considerably as to the extent to which Persian teachings influenced Qumran dualism and determinism. Driver¹⁹ suggests that the Covenanters of Qumran, "grafted Persian dualism on to Hebrew monotheism." The relationship may not have been quite that simple. William LaSor takes the position that there is no direct Zoroastrian influence on Qumran theology when he writes:

"The possible contacts between Zoroastrianism and Qumran have been mentioned in passing (pp.78,81), and I have indicated that I do not see evidence of direct Zoroastrian influence on Qumran theology."²⁰

K. G. Kuhn wrote:

"This Gnostic structure of the new text can scarcely have sprung up from Jewish tradition--there the presuppositions for it would be lacking; while they would be genuinely present in this sect. But it agrees surprisingly with the original preaching of Zoroaster, and thereby is set forth anew the old question of the Parsee influence on Judaism."²¹

Another aspect of this difficult problem is posed in the suggestion of

T. H. Gaster that later Iranian teachings may, in fact, have been based upon Jewish teachings:

"Significant also in this connection are the parallels which exist between the doctrines and concepts of the Scrolls and those which appear in Iranian lore. To be sure, these affinities present a thorny problem, because, while some of them indeed occur in the really ancient portion of the Iranian scriptures--the Gathas--others are to be found only in writings of relatively

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The larger number of authors favor this view. The following are representative: Lohse, Die Texte aus Qumran. p. XV. Cf. also G. R. Driver, The Judean Scrolls. pp. 551,561; S. Aalen, Die Begriffe Licht und Finsternis im A.T.; Huppenbauer, Der Mensch Zwischen Zwei Welten; Dupont-Sommer, The Essene Writings from Qumran. p. 77 ff.3, 78 ff. 7, 79 ff.2; Lucetta Mowry, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Early Church. p. 147; W. O. E. Oesterley, An Introduction to the Books of the Apocrypha. p. 72; and, R. C. A. Leaney, The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning. pp. 46-47.

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G. R. Driver, The Judean Scrolls, p. 547.

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William LaSor, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament, pp. 151-2.

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K. G. Kuhn, "Die in Palästina gefundenen Hebräischen Texte und das Neue Testament," ZTK, 47 (1950): 211.

late date, and these may themselves be derived (directly or indirectly) from Jewish sources."²²

Gaster is not inflexible in his opinions, for he chronicles many parallels between Iranian and Jewish thought.²³ He specifically acknowledges that the "elaborate angelology, demonology, and eschatology which developed during the intertestamental period owed much to earlier contacts with Iranian thought"²⁴ Likewise, Gaster writes, with particular reference to the Scrolls, "Indeed, not the least fascinating feature of the Scrolls is precisely this blend of the Iranian with the Hebraic."²⁵

The background of the Old Testament Canonical writings, the Apocryphal writings; and, particularly, the Apocalyptists show a definite and progressively emerging dualism and determinism in the Palestinian inter-testamental period. It could well be that it is in this latter literature that the impact of Persian dualism is most important. Though, admittedly, this may be somewhat speculative because of the problems involved. Some of these difficulties, in summary, are as follows: there is in the Old Testament an ethical dualism portrayed under various figures of speech.²⁶ There is a conflict between good and evil throughout; also, mention must be made of the difficulties of dating the birth of Zoroaster which date is suggested as being anywhere from 6000 B.C. to 569 B.C.;²⁷ and finally, the gradual evolution of the Iranian religion itself presents difficulties in-as-much as the dualism of the earlier Gathas is an ethical dualism whereas in later writings the emphasis is upon a cosmological dualism. In the case of the latter, there is, as was suggested by Gaster and LaSor, the distinct possibility of Jewish thought having influenced Iranian thought as well. These difficulties prompted

²² Gaster, op. cit., pp. 23-24.

²³ Ibid., pp. 24-26.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 24.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 26.

²⁶ To illustrate, Deut. xxx, 15-20; Prov. ii, 13-15; Prov. xxi, I.

²⁷ Ernst Herzfeld, Zoroaster and His World (Princeton University Press, 1947), I: 19, 20.

Driver to comment:

"The antitheses are so obvious that they may have occurred more or less simultaneously in different centres. For example, good and evil, truth and falsehood, life and death, God and Satan, are contrasted in the Old Testament at times long before any to which the Scrolls can be assigned; such ideas therefore are as likely to have reached the Covenanters from their own Hebrew Scriptures as from some remote Iranian source."²⁸

The present view, held by a majority of commentators, that ancient Zoroastrianism was a probable source for Post-Exilic Jewish; and subsequently of Qumran dualism is based upon the following reasoning. The Zoroastrian religion is antecedent to the Apocalyptists and to Qumranic literature. The religion supports a definite dualism in which Ahuramazda and Ahriman are antithetic forces. There are the parallel antitheses of Good and Evil, Truth and Falsehood, Light and Darkness, and Life and Death. During the Exilic period the Jewish people had intimate contact with the later Persian culture (during which time it is assumed that they may have been oriented to the dualism of the more ancient Persian period— which conclusion is contested by some).²⁹ All of this occurred to the Jews prior to the emergence of dualism and determinism in the Post-Exilic Apocryphal literature. As the dualism of the ancient Zoroastrian religion may show more of a parallel or affinity to the dualism of Jewish Apocryphal literature and to the dualism of the Qumran community than does, for instance, Greek philosophical dualism, the conclusion is derived by some that Zoroastrian dualism may be a probable source of Jewish dualism. The problem may not be to demonstrate that there are indeed similarities between the dualism of Qumran and the Iranian ideas so much as to establish a direct and verifiable relationship— which may be difficult to do with present information.

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Driver, *op. cit.*, p. 551.

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Driver, *Ibid.*, p. 561, asserts, "...this Iranian dualism had come under the influence of Jewish monotheism and the doctrine of creation..." Cf. also LaSor, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament, 81.

A comparison of certain dualistic concepts of the Apocryphal writers with ancient Zoroastrian concepts reveals parallelisms which pertain to this study. Oesterley, among others, suggests that the Apocalyptists re-inforced their deterministic interpretation of the Jewish exile and humiliation by drawing upon Persian dualistic teachings. He first suggests that, "...the Apocalyptists may be regarded as the successors of the prophets of old."³⁰ Then, tracing the influence down through Jewish history, with particular reference to determinism, he writes:

"In another direction, moreover, the Apocalyptists show themselves to be in the following of the prophets. These latter had taught that, in accordance with the divine foreknowledge and plan, the destruction of the Israelite nation was, on account of its wickedness, predetermined. This conception is taken over by the Apocalyptists and greatly developed; indeed their doctrine of Determinism is at times carried to extreme lengths...all things are predetermined from the beginning of the world. It seems highly probable that this exaggerated Determinism was due to Iranian influence."³¹

Again, with reference to the dualistic concept of the 'two spirits', Driver, with others,³² suggests that the idea can be traced, "somewhat uncertainly from the Old Testament, through the intertestamental literature, into the scrolls and the New Testament."³³ These dualistic concepts were reflected not only in the Inter-testamental and Qumran literature but were reflected in certain Christian literature of the epoch³⁴ and in certain rabbinical literature as well.³⁵

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W. O. E. Oesterley, An Introduction to the Books of the Apocrypha, p. 71. Cf. also Bousset, Die Religion des Judentums in Spät-hellenistischen Zeitalter, p. 502 f.

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Oesterley, Ibid.

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Cf. also, O. J. F. Seitz, "Two spirits in Man." An Essay in Biblical Exegesis in NTS 6, 1959, 60; pp. 82-84; J. P. Audet, "Affinities littéraires et doctrinales du Manuel de Discipline". RB 59, 1952. pp. 219 ff.

³³

G. R. Driver, The Judean Scrolls. p. 551.

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As in the Epistle of Barnabas, the Latin Duae Viae, the Greek Teaching of the Twelve Apostles and the Shepherd of Hermas.

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See the conversation between Acher and his student R. Me'ir in B. Talmud Hagigah 15a.

There are two chief aspects of the Apocalyptic writings which reflect their deterministic viewpoint and dualism (which are developed in a much broader dualism than can be found expressed in the Canonical Old Testament writings). These are, namely, the expression of the fixed determinism of God's plan and purpose in human history and destiny; and, what amounts to a strange new departure in the effort to set forth and harmonize the relationship between human freedom and divine control.

For the Old Testament prophets and the Apocalyptists alike, history and time, with reference to the human situation, find their ultimate meaning in terms of the out-working of the divine will and purpose. It is the 'divine plan', the 'mighty acts of God', the 'moving of God', throughout human events and time which is the prime concern. Apocalyptists differ from their antecedents in that they have attempted to synthesize the temporal with the eternal. That is, they have endeavoured to avoid what appears as confusion to the prophets before them with reference to the human dilemma and all of its evils—particularly human misbehaviour—in the light of God's 'mysterious power' and His eternal will and purpose in the creation and destiny of the universe. It is an effort to relate the finite activity of man with the infinite eternity and omnipotence of God. Hence it is, that there are introduced into the dualism and determinism of the Apocrypha sentiments and concepts which do not find expression in the Canonical writings.

In-as-much as determinism and dualism are characteristic of the post-Canonical Jewish literature, it is essential to submit selective, specific instances which will illustrate this aspect of the literature. The book of Jubilees (iv,17,19) records concerning Enoch that,

"he wrote down the signs of heaven according to the number of their months in a book...and what was and what will be he saw in a vision of his sleep, as it will happen to the children of men throughout their generations until the day of judgment."

This appears to be a reference to the twelve signs of the Zodiac; and probably refers to I Enoch 72-82 and 83-90 where, in a greater length, the same ideas are expressed. The emphasis of these passages seems to be that human life and all of human history is determined beforehand and then regulated by the movements of the heavenly bodies. Such an idea would be alien to the writings of the Canonical authors unless they were writing of the activities of those outside of the Jewish religion.³⁶ Indeed, information gained from such sources as necromancy, star-gazing wizardry, etc. seems always to stand in contra-distinction to the divine revelations.³⁷

Another aspect of this fixedness of history is described in Jubilees i,29 which indicates the belief of the author that there are heavenly tablets on which are recorded, "all the deeds of mankind, and of all the children of flesh that shall be upon the earth to the remotest generations." God is described as the one who knows (beforehand) the goal of the generations (Cf. II Bar. xlviii,3); the whole course of history is predetermined, and the Day of Judgment will come when the fixed number of the elect has been reached (IV Ezra iv,35 f.); All created things have been foreseen and foreknown of God, even the destinies of Israel and that of the Gentiles has been pre-determined by Him (Cf. Assumption of Moses xii,4 f.).

Not only is man's life pre-determined; but, his after-life is also pre-determined. It is taught that before the final judgment comes, God will divide the spirits of the children of light from the spirits of the children of darkness (I Enoch xxxxi,8). It is as if a man's portion is laid in the balance before God and nothing that he can do will

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Cf. Isaiah xlvii,13; note also II Kings xxiii,5.

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As in the case of Joseph in Egypt, Genesis xli,24; Moses in Pharaoh's court, Exodus vii,11-12; Daniel in Babylon, Daniel ii,2-14, 27,47; and also, Daniel v,7.

alter whatever God has pre-determined for him (Psalms of Solomon v,6).

Even before a man is born there has been a "place prepared for the repose of that soul, and a measure fixed how much it is intended that a man be tried in this world". In the 'Mirror of the World' Abraham is depicted as seeing the whole world divided into two--God's people on the right side and the heathen on the left (Cf. Apoc. of Abraham 21). Everything was "already planned beforehand" (Apoc. of Abraham 22). The wicked are described as Azazel's 'portion' who have been assigned to him from the beginning (Apoc. of Abraham 22). The very future estate of the righteous and the wicked has been predestined by God, "for corruption will take those that belong to it, and life those that belong to it." (II Bar. xiii,7).

This is not to suggest that the Apocryphal writers had abandoned the lofty conceptions of God which were expressed in the Canonical writings. For, they still retained and frequently gave expression to the view of the 'almightiness of God' which had so dominated the theological thoughts of the pre-exilic Jews (Book of Wisdom xi,22; xii,8-12). Similar sentiments of the Greatness of God are found in Philo (de Legg Allegor. i,15; iii,24,27,28). The book of Sirach is largely distinctly predestinarian (Sirach xvi,26-30; xxiii,20; xxxiii,11-13; xxxix,20-21). In the Pharisaic Psalms of Solomon there is a recognition of God as the great and mighty King (ii,34,36) who has appointed the course of nature (xviii,20) and controls the unfolding of human history (ii,34; ix,4; xvii,4). This God rules over the whole creation and determines the lot of each person and thing (v,6,18). Similar expressions of the sovereignty and magnitude of God's greatness are found in numerous other passages throughout the Apocryphal writings.

But, while these post-Canonical Jewish writings retain much of those lofty expressions of man's (and all of nature's) dependence upon

God as the 'Mighty Lord of All' by whose counsel and wisdom all things exist, and were created; and, whose end is foreknown and fully determined (for every creature in the universe is but an instrument of His will); nevertheless, these authors grappled with the problem of human behaviour and misbehaviour; and, in their writings, also gave expression to a new element which allows for the autocracy of the human will. So, within the writings of this category, and at times within the writings of a single author, there may be found expressions of dualism and determinism; freedom of the human will and the autocracy of the individual—both within the framework of the sovereignty of God.

The book of Sirach contains a famous passage which is unparalleled in the Canonical writings wherein the freedom and autocracy of the human will is asserted. The culmination of the passage is reached in the declaration that, "a man has been committed to the hand of his own counsel," to choose for himself life or death (Sirach xv,11-20). In the Pharisaic Psalms of Solomon, in which definite deterministic sentiments are set forth, there likewise is found a very strong assertion of the freedom of the human will, "O God, our works are in our own soul's election and control to do righteousness or iniquity in the works of our hand" (Psalms of Solomon ix,7).

There appears to be a growing crescendo of these expressions relating to human freedom of will until in the latter portion of the pre-Christian period the whole sphere of human behaviour and/or misbehaviour is, in certain instances, separated from Divine determination (as in the case of the Sadducees mentioned by Josephus). Undoubtedly, Jewish literary expression had been affected by the exterior influences in shaping these changing ideas concerning man and Deity. There are, in the closing portion of the pre-Christian time, specific instances of non-Hebrew terminology creeping into Jewish literary thought. The

Platonic πρόνοια, προνοεῖν, for example, probably through the influence of the Stoa, is found not only in Philo (περὶ προνοίας); but, also in the Apocryphal books (Wisdom vi,7; xiv,3; xvii,2; 3 Macc. iv,21; v,30; 4 Macc. ix,24; xiii,18; xvii,22; Cf. also Daniel vi,18-19 LXX). An even more precise and possibly earlier term, εφορᾶν, occurs in Josephus (War of the Jews, II viii 14) and is utilized also in the LXX (2 Macc. xii,22; xv,2; Cf. also 3 Macc. ii,21; Job xxxiv,24; xxviii,24; xxii,12; xxi,16; and Zech. ix,1). Josephus also employs the more fatalistic ἐλαφρομένη to describe the then current Jewish views of predestination (War of the Jews, II viii 14; Antiquities, XIII v 9; XVIII i 3). With the use of these Greek terms there undoubtedly came into Jewish thought certain Hellenistic philosophical ideas.

But, whatever the sources may have been, there is a demonstrable tendency by these Apocryphal writers to digress from the predestinarianism of an earlier time towards that expression which made allowance for individual freedom and the autocracy of the human will. In-as-much as the concept of the autocracy of the individual human will had characterized certain elements of ancient Persian and certain Greek religious philosophical thought, it may well be that these were the influences which had contributed mainly towards the development of these sentiments by Jewish authors. Philo, whose predestinarian views were earlier mentioned, did at least allude to the possibility of human freedom³⁸ when he suggested that man is granted a certain 'voluntary' sphere of behaviour.

There are certain other ideas of the Apocalyptic literature which may reflect upon their views of determinism and free-willism. These suggestions, coupled with somewhat similar—if far less developed—ideas in the Canonical literature, may find their fullest development in the Qumran writings, the New Testament, and other first and second century

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Philo, Quod Deus Sit Immut. 10.

A. D. Christian literature. In this connection reference is made particularly to the antitheses of 'light and darkness', 'good and evil', 'life and death', and 'truth and error' on the one hand; and, to the concepts pertaining to sin and evil (particularly, to its origin) on the other hand.

The use of the antitheses in inter-testamental literature is also complemented by the allusions and references to the 'two ways' and to the 'two spirits', both of which were to find degrees of parallelism or affinity of expression in the Qumran literature, the New Testament, and in other Jewish and Christian literature of the first two centuries A.D.³⁹ Several efforts have been made to trace the concept from the Apocryphal authors (see Testaments of the Patriarchs, Judah xx 1-3; and also, Asher i 3—v 2). The ideas were to be given fuller, though not necessarily identical, expression in the Qumran Scriptures, the New Testament, and in the early Christian literature (The Epistle of Barnabas 18-21,⁴⁰ the Didache 1-6,⁴¹ Doctrina Apostolorum 1-5,⁴² the Shepherd of Hermas, Mandates 5, 1-2, and Similitudes 5.5.2; 5.6.5; 5.1-3;⁴³ The Two Ways (Latin) and the Teaching (Greek)).

In the comparison of this literature it becomes apparent that there is a somewhat common factor—an affinity of terminology. But,

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Detailed efforts to compare certain ideas are found in: J. P. Audet, "Affinities littéraires et doctrinales du Manuel de Discipline", RB 59, 1952, pp. 219 ff. Also, in A. R. C. Leane, The Rule of Qumran and its meaning, p. 51; G. R. Driver, The Judean Scrolls, p. 557; K. Schubert, Die Gemeinde vom Toten Meer, pp. 57-61; and also K. Stendahl The Scrolls and the New Testament, pp. 157-182.

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Lightfoot and Harmer, Apostolic Fathers; Revised Texts, 262-264; and also 285-287.

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R. C. Butler, 'The "Two Ways" in the Didache', JTS (NS) 12, 1961, pp. 27-38; R. P. C. Hanson, Tradition in the Early Church, pp. 172 ff.

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Schlecht, Doctrina XII Apostolorum, 105-112.

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Lightfoot and Harmer, op. cit., 325-327; 428-429; and also Cf. Audet in RB, NS LIX, pp. 219-298; and pp. 47-82.

when the expressions are viewed in the broader theological frame of reference for each of the communities represented, it again becomes obvious that there are also distinctive differences. For instance, there is the definite dualism in the New Testament that depicts God, life, light, truth and righteousness, on the one hand; and, Satan, death, darkness, error and unrighteousness or sin, on the other hand. These words stand apart as clearly as the 'two ways' or the 'two spirits' from each other. 'Light' has no fellowship with 'darkness', etc. Whereas, by contrast, in the Qumran Scriptures, as will be shortly presented, the 'Two Spirits' and the 'Two Ways' originate from a single source—God.

In the Apocalyptic treatment of the concept of 'sin', the effort of the Apocalyptists to grapple with the problem of human misbehaviour, when compared with the earlier concepts of the total sovereignty of God, is clearly a departure from the earlier predestinarianism. Two of the more important passages relating to the concept of sin in the Apocalyptists are to be found in Ecclesiasticus and IV Ezra. From these passages come three possibilities in explaining the origin of evil. The first, made by Ben-Sira in the Ecclesiasticus suggests, "From a woman was the beginning of sin: and because of her we all die" (xxv, 24). The author of Wisdom implies the association of sin and death also, "...because God created man for incorruption, and in the likeness of his own proper being made he him; but by the envy of the devil death entered into the world..." (ii, 23-24).

The transmission of sin to the whole human race as a result of Adam's sin—a view normally held by the Jews—is mentioned in Apocalyptic literature in IV Ezra, "For the first Adam, bearing a wicked heart, transgressed, and was overcome; and not he only, but all they also that are born of him. Thus disease was made permanent; and the

law was in the heart of the people along with the wickedness of the root; so the good departed away, and that which was wicked abode still" (IV Ezra iii,21-22). Another passage says, "For a grain of evil seed was sown in the heart of Adam from the beginning, and how much wickedness hath it brought forth until the time of the threshing come! Ponder now by thyself, how great fruit of wickedness a grain of evil seed has brought forth. When the ears which are without number shall be sown, how great a floor shall they fill" (IV Ezra iv,30-32). The same author further states in another passage, "O thou Adam, what hast thou done? For though it was thou that sinned, the evil is not fallen on thee alone, but upon all of us that come of thee" (IV Ezra vii, 118).

Ben-Sira wrote of the beginning of evil with Eve. The book of Wisdom taught that it originated with the Devil; and, IV Ezra traced it back to Adam. But, the suggestion that a grain of evil seed was sown in the heart of Adam (Cf. IV Ezra iv,30), if it implies that it was sown there by the Devil, would really be tantamount to saying that sin originated with the Devil before Adam. Hence, there would in effect be a duality. If, on the other hand, sin originated before Adam, but not with Satan, the implication would be that sin originated with God—a concept which Ben-Sira expressly condemned, "Say not thou, It is through the Lord that I fell away, for thou shalt not do the things he hateth. Say not thou, It is he that causeth me to err, for ne hath no need of a sinful man" (xv, 11,12).

The suggestions of Ben-Sira are further complicated in other passages when he introduces a concept which has basic roots, as far as the terminology is concerned, in the Old Testament.⁴⁴ The concept of

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The word יצר is used frequently in the O.T. with various meanings. The concepts of 'evil spirit' and 'good spirit' are not found as such with reference to the 'yetser'; but, rabinnic comments in Sukkah 52b cite the reference to the 'spirit of whoredoms' in Hosea iv,11-12 and v,4 when dealing with the 'yetser hara'. Cf. A. R. C. Leaney, op. cit., p. 42, 153; and Seitz, NTS 6, 1959-60, p. 93 n. 5.

the 'yetser', a term which may be translated 'evil inclination', 'evil tendency' is spoken of. For instance, Ben-Sira suggests that God placed in man this evil tendency or spirit in the very act of creation.

"God created man from the beginning, and placed him in the hand of his Yetser. If thou so desirest, thou canst keep the commandment, and it is wisdom to do his good pleasure" (xv, 14-15). Note also (xxxvii, 3), "O evil tendency (Yetser) wherefore wast thou created, to fill the face of the world with deceit?" And again, "Good is set over against evil, and life over against death; so it is the sinner over against the godly" (xxxiii, 14-15) (note also the use of the antitheses here). Ben-Sira appears reticent to accept his own statement thus allowing God to be responsible for the creation of evil. But, later Jewish authors took up the argument and set it forth clearly.⁴⁵

Evidently, Ben-Sira was not completely satisfied with any of his possible explanations for the origin of evil; hence, he postulated still another idea in these words, "When the ungodly curseth Satan, he curseth his own soul. The whisperer defileth his own soul, and shall be hated whithersoever he goeth" (xxi, 27-28). Another passage lends support to this concept that man himself is the cause and seat of his own evil inclinations, "What is brighter than the sun? Yet this faileth; and an evil man will think on flesh and blood" (xvii, 31).⁴⁶ The idea finds similar expression in other writings, "I have sworn unto you, ye sinners, as a mountain does not become a slave and will not, nor a hill a handmaid of a woman, even so sin hath not been sent upon the earth, and man himself hath created it..." (I Enoch xcvi, 4).

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30b. Midrash Bereshith Rabba xxvii; Babylonian Talmud, Kiddushin

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The Syriac Version, second clause reads, "Even so does man not curb his inclinations." Tennant paraphrases the passage to read, "Even the sun darkens itself—the brightest thing in the world; how much more, then, frail man?" "Journal of Theological Studies", Vol. II, p. 212.

Certain conclusions present themselves as a result of the comparison of these comments made by the Apocryphal writers. The first is that there is an obvious lack of uniformity among them; although, regardless of the sources of their concepts, there are certain sentiments which appear to be commonly accepted. As was suggested in the case of Ben-Sira, there is uncertainty within his own writings concerning the origins of evil. In other cases, there is a noticeable vacillation between outright determinism on the one hand and full individual responsibility of man with free will and personal accountability on the other hand.

The authors of this period sought to blend an imperfect dualism with their earlier monotheistic heritage. They struggled with the problem of human deeds and misdeeds, human suffering, national disaster, and other evils of the human dilemma, and attempted to resolve the tension arising from consideration of these circumstances in the light of their modified views of God and His divine activity. G. R. Driver has suggested, "All three groups, Christians and Covenanters and Rab-bis, have reached the same point; and all three leave the dilemma unresolved."⁴⁷ Any effort to assess the conclusions of the inter-test-amental Jewish authors must be made against the backdrop of the strong currents of dualism and determinism which generally pervade their thinking, alongside of the occasional instances of the sensitive expressions of free-will alternatives to which they have given utterance.

The emergence of the dualistic and deterministic concepts stands in contrast to the trend of the traditional concepts of the earlier periods of Jewish history; particularly, to the hints which are contained in the Canonical writings. Many factors undoubtedly contributed to these differing views about God and human destiny.

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G. R. Driver, *op. cit.*, p. 562.

In searching for a cause for this shift in the Jewish views of the will and purpose of God in human affairs and human destiny, attention is immediately focused upon the historical setting in which the rise of these differing concepts is accomplished. The devastating destruction of the country, the overthrow of the seat of government, the enslavement and murder of their ruling class, the gruesome horrors of war, the carrying of thousands into Babylonian captivity, the sacrilege committed upon the holy places of the temple of Jerusalem, the desecration of all that was sacred and holy by the foreign troops, the termination of the sanctuary services and the slaughter of the priests⁴⁸—all of these and more must have had a shattering effect upon the whole Jewish psyche⁴⁹—including their views of nature and the divine purposes of God with particular reference to the traditional views held by the Jews concerning their being the 'heirs of Abraham', the 'chosen seed', and, the 'holy people of the covenant'.⁵⁰ Lucetta Mowry has cited a similar explanation for the dualism of the Qumran sectaries:

"...the struggle between the two rival groups of powers is not primarily a cosmic-mythical conflict or even a conflict of matter against spirit, but rather a conflict of good against evil with cosmic dimensions. This understanding of the problem of evil and of God's sovereignty, therefore, continues the Hebraic tradition and, from the point of view of the new Qumran perspectives, was a necessary modification of that tradition. By asserting that God had created the two spirits and had defined their powers, the Sectaries were able to explain the magnitude of wickedness during the present era and at the same time declare that even wickedness was a demonstration of God's sovereign power."⁵¹

⁴⁸ Cf. Daniel ix,3-19 (esp. vs. 7, 17-18); Eze. xx,1-3; Jer. lii; and, Hab. i.

⁴⁹ Refer back to the statements quoted earlier in this chapter by Oesterley, footnote 31; and, by T. Gaster, cf. footnote 15.

⁵⁰ Jeremiah xlv,22-23; Malachi ii,9-11; Ezekiel xx, the whole chapter; but, particularly, verses 8, 13, 21, and 39. Compare Daniel ix,12.

⁵¹ Lucetta Mowry, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Early Church, pp. 148-149.

Further, it is not inconceivable that the direct social intercourse with other nations effected through the years of the exile—with the resulting exposure to the philosophical speculations and religious sophistries of these foreign cultures—led to the penetration of the Jewish thought by the divergent world-views and theologies of the Babylonians, Assyrians, Egyptians, Persian, Greek, as-well-as numerous Oriental thought systems.

Nor, should it be overlooked that there is throughout that portion of the Old Testament known as the 'prophets' (which would relate to Jewish history immediately before, during, and after the exile) a continual utterance of warnings and entreaties addressed to the people to return to the beliefs and worship practises of earlier times; and, to forsake the strange practises and teachings which had been adopted from their captors and other nations.⁵² Nor can it be overlooked that the punishment of the Jewish people was ordained of God because of their unfaithfulness; and, was foretold by the prophets who likened their unfaithfulness to spiritual harlotry and whoredoms.⁵³ This spiritual apostasy ought not to be assigned solely to the Post-Exilic period for the germinal seed of these ideas was sown in an earlier age. But the apostasy from the earlier lofty concepts relating to God and His sovereignty came to full bloom in the period of the intertestamental milieu.

World events of the period saw the political control over the Jewish people pass from the Persians to the Greeks and finally to the Roman kingdom. Each of these placed its unique imprint and stresses upon the

⁵² Jeremiah vi,16; xii,22. The theme of 'returning' appears repeatedly throughout the ministry of Jeremiah. Cf. Mal. iii,7.

⁵³ Jeremiah xv is illustrative. Also the prophecy of Habbakuk; the spiritual apostasy of the Jews being likened to adultery, harlotry and whoredoms is a frequently employed metaphor. See. Eze. xvi,32; xxiii,37; Cf. footnote 44 where reference is made to Hosea iv,11-12; and v,4.

little culture. The Greek language became the language of the Palestinian region as elsewhere. Hellenistic influences extended into every aspect of their lives—their religion included. Roman sovereignty likewise cast an imprint upon the culture. The imperial power of the kingdom touched every life in taxation, coinage, militarism and many other ways. In the midst of these changing political events the development of the sectarian concept within the Jewish culture was accomplished. With the rise of sectarianism came diverse theological concepts.

Orthodox Judaism was challenged by heterodox ideas. Traditional values and viewpoints were displaced by new thought trends. Sectarianism among the Jews grew rampant. Certain groups sought, through militarism, to cast off the foreign domination and to restore the kingdom to its earlier glory. Eschatological teachings excited many of these sects with the necessary zeal and expectation. Other groups centered their activities in Jerusalem and sought to preserve and revive the traditional temple rituals and religious heritage. Still other groups sought the seclusion of the desert and other remote places in which to develop their socio-religious ideas.

Into this religious amalgam there arose a small sect consisting of a few thousand earnest zealots, on the shores of the Dead Sea, whose very existence would hardly have been known (had not the historians who lived contemporary with the community made brief mention of them) until by a chance discovery in the mid-twentieth century the remarkably well-preserved cache of their treasures was discovered and, through a series of bizarre events, eventually brought to the knowledge of an astonished world. A legacy of Jewish artifacts, writings, and other treasures was revealed to the world. The Qumran community with all of its uniqueness was suddenly exposed to the gaze of the world of spectators. Now, men

had a partial bridge between the Old Testament Jewish culture and the New Testament Jewish and Christian civilizations. Not the least remarkable was the writings of the community as well as their preservation of their copies of the Canonical Jewish scriptures and other non-Canonical works as well. Excitement immediately centered upon their own unique writings and the fervor, though less, continues. Notable among their teachings is their dualism and determinism—which are to be the next aspect of this inquiry to be considered.

CHAPTER THREE

"DETERMINISM AND DUALISM IN THE QUMRAN SCRIPTURES"

The determinism of the Qumran community, as expressed in the extant literature of the epoch, is inseparably associated with their quasi-dualistic postulations concerning the cosmos and the nature of human existence in the light of their formulations about the nature, character and sovereignty of God. The basic corpus of the teachings of the community in this regard is most succinctly expressed in the Manual of Discipline, iii,13-iv,26. The deterministic and dualistic ideas found in these columns are reiterated throughout the various writings of the community; especially, in the Book of Psalms, the War Scroll and the Damascus Document.

Initiates of the Qumran sect were admonished to, "keep awake for a third of all the nights of the year reading book(s),¹ studying the Law and worshipping together."² The Manual of Discipline evidently served a sort of catechistic purpose among the adherents of the community. And, the passage from columns three and four of the manuscript appears to have been their most authoritative statement of belief concerning God's absolute sovereignty over the whole of the cosmos, mankind included. Leaney suggests:

"That the passage may have once existed independently of its present context,...it may be the original statement, or close to the original statement, which inspired the other passages like it."³

¹Theodore H. Gaster, The Dead Sea Scriptures, Third revised edition (New York, Anchor Books, 1976), p. 55 renders an alternate reading as well, "Or, 'the book (of the Law)'."

²I QS vi,7. Theodore H. Gaster, Ibid.

³A. R. C. Leaney, The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1966), p. 55. Compare, O. Betz, Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte, p. 144, and also, W. Foerster, NTS 8, 1961-2, who compares I QS iii,13-iv,26 with passages from the Book of Psalms.

Whatever the actual relationship may have been between this passage and those passages elsewhere in Qumranic literature in which similar sentiments are expressed, it seems obvious that the concepts recorded in the Manual of Discipline were rudimentary to the theology, metaphysics, cosmology, soteriology and eschatology of the Qumran sect; and that the determinism and dualism contained in the passage served as contributing factors in regulating conduct and in disciplining the Sectaries.

Qumran thought centered about God, man, angels and the cosmos. The basic declaration that, "All that is and ever was comes from a God of knowledge פאל הדעות" (I QS iii,15)⁴ is the ground upon which all of their theological and philosophical formulations were founded. The problem arises to seek to understand the true import of their dualistic ideas in relationship to their concept of the absolute sovereignty of God. In this context, their expressions relating to determinism assume a particular significance. However, it may be essential to attempt a definition of the term "dualism". For, it is around this term that scholars have endeavoured to make meaningful contributions towards the understanding of the dualistic expressions of the authors of the Scrolls.

Charlesworth notes that there, "are various types of dualism in the history of ideas: philosophical, anthropological, psychological, physical, metaphysical, cosmological, cosmic, ethical, eschatological, and soteriological."⁵ The difficulties in applying the term to any or all phenomena are obvious. Many scholars, in seeking to appraise the

⁴ Compare I QM x,12; I QH i,7-13,27; iv,38; xiii,8; xv,14; I Q 34, 3,1,7; and also CD iv,21.

⁵ James H. Charlesworth, John and Qumran, 1972, p. 76. He further notes that, "The type of dualism with which we are concerned is a modified dualism and not a polarity between two equal, eternal forces or concepts." Ibid., 88-89. It may be noted that Charlesworth has attempted to make specific definitions of each of the categories of dualism which he has mentioned. His definitions, while useful, are hardly final or comprehensive.

dualistic notions have qualified, by employing various adjectives, the dualism of the Qumran Scriptures.⁶ In spite of the differing opinions,

⁶ H. W. Huppenbauer, Der Mensch zwischen zwei welten, 1959, 9-10, distinguishes between the 'cosmic' and the 'cosmological' dualism. He argues that in the Qumran Scrolls it is not one, but many types of dualism which is portrayed. He concludes, "Der Dualismus der Qumrangemeinde ist also ein relativer, ethisch-kosmischer Dualismus." 103, 113.

J. Maier, Die Texte vom Toten Meer, Vol. II, 1960, 18. "Der Dualismus ist relativ und ethisch und nicht absolut und physisch." Compare K. G. Kuhn, ZThK 1952, 296-313 and Schulz, ZThK 1959, 157f. J. Jeremias, Die theologische Bedeutung der Funde am Toten Meer, 1962, 13-15; and CTM 39, 1968, 557-571, acknowledges the cosmic characteristic of the dualism but stresses that the dualism is monotheistic, ethical and eschatological. O Böcher, Der johanneische Dualismus im Zusammenhang des nachbiblischen Judentums, 1965, 25. "Starker als in den Test XII ist der ethische Dualismus von Licht und Finsternis..." Lucetta Mowry, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the early Church, 1966, 147; "The struggle between good and evil thus took on cosmic dimensions. Out of the combination of Iranian dualism and later Hebraic thought, the Sectaries derived their own peculiar system of cosmic-ethical dualism." W. S. Lasor, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Christian Faith, 1976 printing of the revised edition of 1962, 106. "...in Qumran theology, a quasi-dualism is already established."

The following authors have interpreted the dualism of the Qumran Scrolls as being some form of a 'cosmic' dualism. W. F. Albright, "The Bible after Twenty years of Archeology", RL 21, 1952, 549. K. G. Kuhn, "Die Sektenschrift und die iranische Religion", ZTK 49, 1952, 312. K. Schubert, TLZ 78, 1953, 495-506; Die Gemeinde vom Toten Meer, 1958 62-66. A. Dupont-Sommer, The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes, 1954, 118-9; and, The Essene Writings from Qumran, 1961, 53-54. J. M. Allegro, The Dead Sea Scrolls, 1956, 128. C. T. Fritsch, The Qumran Community, 1956, 71. F. Nötscher, Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumrantexte, 1956, 80. H. J. Schonfield, Secrets of the Dead Sea Scrolls, 1956, 113. M. Burrows, More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls, 1958, 280-1. F. M. Cross, The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies, 1958, 210. J. Licht, SH 4, 1958, 92. R. Meyer and J. Reuse, Die Qumranfunde und die Bibel, 1959, 57. W. D. Davies, Christian Origins and Judaism, 1962, 164. H. G. May, "Cosmological Reference in the Qumran Doctrine of the Two Spirits and in Old Testament imagery", JBL 82, 1963, 1-14. G. R. Driver, The Judean Scrolls, 1965, 559. A. R. C. Leane, The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning, 1966, 43.

P. Wernberg-Møller, "A reconsideration of the Two Spirits in the Rule of the Community" (1 QSerek 3:13-4:26), RevQ 11, 1961, 423, rejects the idea of a 'cosmic' dualism in favor of a purely 'psychological' dualism. E. Schweizer, "Gegenwart des Geistes und eschatologische Hoffnung", The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology, 1956, 490, admits the ethical but denies the cosmic character of the passage. M. Treves, "The Two Spirits of the Rule of the Community", RevQ 3, 1961, 449-52, has written, "In my opinion these spirits are simply the tendencies or propensities which are implanted in every man's heart." Charlesworth, op. cit., 132 has further clarified his position in his comparison of the Odes of Solomon with John and Qumran, as showing that in Qumran there is a modified dualism which contains ethical and eschatological emphases as well as the light-darkness paradigm and the warring cosmic Spirits.

as to the 'kind' of dualism to be found in the Qumran writings, there still emerges a consensus that the dualism is not fully developed. It is a 'modified' or 'qualified' dualism...a 'sort of' dualism which was opined particularly to express the viewpoints and purposes of the Qumran community. Charlesworth was sensitive to this when he formulated a definition of the term dualism which would embrace the ideas expressed in the Scrolls. He wrote:

"The term "dualism" refers to a pattern of thought, an antithesis, which is bifurcated into two mutually exclusive categories (e.g. two spirits or two worlds), each of which is qualified by a set of properties and ethical characteristics which are contrary to those under the other antithetic category (e.g. light and good versus darkness and evil."

Y. Yadin has suggested that the War Scroll was written on the basis of the dualism of I QS 3:13-25;⁸ and, A. A. Anderson believes that the differences which might be observed between the dualism of I QM, I QH and I QS are inconsequential and may be derived from the differences of authorship, date and contents of writings. He, along with Leaney,⁹ sees the same dualism pervading all of these manuscripts; and, he writes, "I QS may reflect the thought and practise of the whole community".¹⁰

The dualism of the Qumran Scrolls is not expressed primarily with the use of the number 'two'; although one instance in which the word is used is of prime importance. It is recorded that God "appointed two Spirits for man" וְיִשָּׁם לֹן שְׁתֵּי רוּחֹת (I QS iii,18). Other instances in which the number two is mentioned generally fail to add to the understanding of the dualistic concepts. However, the Scrolls are replete

⁷ Charlesworth, op. cit., p. 76.

⁸ Y. Yadin, The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness, trans. B. and C. Rabin, 1962, 229-42.

⁹ Leaney, loc. cit.

¹⁰ A. A. Anderson, "The use of 'Ruah' in IQS, IQH and IQM", JSS 7, 1962, 298. Compare also, H. W. Kuhn, Enderwartung und gegenwartiges Heil, Studien Zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments, 4, 1966, 121-5 and W. Foerster, "Der Heilige Geist im Spatjudentum", NTS 8, 1961-62, 129-31.

with a variety of antitheses and other rhetorical expressions which, while they may not exhibit an antithetical figure, still portray circumstances and relationships which in actual effect are antithetical.

In the first instance, mention may be made of some of the more common antitheses which are frequently used, such as light and darkness, good and evil, Truth and Perversity, love and hatred, clean and unclean. In the second instance, there are those passages which portray relationships which express a degree of polarity but which do not necessarily represent two equal opposites. In certain of these the element of time is the significant factor; i.e., because the polarity will terminate when the judgment of earth and mankind is accomplished. There is the Dominion of God and the Dominion of Belial, the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness, the Lot of God and the Lot of Belial; Truth originates in a Fountain of Light while Perversity originates in a Fountain of Darkness.

The significance of the duality within the thinking of the Sectaries lies in the manner in which they persistently bifurcated the cosmos, the world and all of humanity into two mutually exclusive categories; e.g., "two Spirits", the "Two Ways", two camps, two armies, two lots, two Visitations and two rewards. The element of duality is carried throughout their religious-philosophical formulations.

The problem for the members of the community was to somehow devise a syncretism between their purely monotheistic declaration about God and their inclinations to portray their cosmology, soteriology ethics, eschatology and other aspects of their thought in quasi-dualistic concepts. This chapter seeks to demonstrate how their deterministic utterances represent their efforts to resolve the apparent incompatibilities between the monotheism and dualism in their writings. It is

essential to delineate certain of their dualistic inclinations first, in-as-much as these serve as the background for understanding the import of their deterministic expressions.

In the opening lines of the Manual of Discipline, mention is to be found of the community. This concept is itself one of the first and most important aspects of their duality (I QS i,1). For the individual who joined the community thus placed himself in a unique relationship in that he was then separate and distinct from all others. Dupont-Sommers stated it thus:

"The 'sons of light' are the just, i.e., the sectaries, and the 'sons' of darkness' the unjust, the ungodly, all who do not belong to the sect. The 'lot', i.e., the destiny of both is fixed from all eternity: the sons of light are predestined to be men of the 'Counsel of God', and the others to be sons of the 'Vengeance of God'."¹¹

The members of the community were obliged to live entirely separated from non-members who were regarded as unclean. Any contact with these ungodly or wicked persons constituted a defilement to be cleansed. Initiates were to separate themselves from the wicked. They were not to hold conversation with them concerning religious matters or to eat or drink anything which belonged to the wicked. They were to realize that all of their actions were as filth and that their possessions were unclean (I QS v,10-17). The Sectaries were designated as "sons of light"

בני אור איש in contradistinction to all the "sons of darkness"

בני חושך איש (I QS i,9-10); i.e., all of those who were outside of the community. This cleavage by which all men were relegated to either one or the other of two positions characterizes the whole of the writings. Consideration will now be given to selected examples which will illustrate that although many figures and metaphors were used by the

¹¹A. Dupont-Sommer, The Essene Writings from Qumran, Translated G. Vermes. p. 73.

Qumran authors, they were still pertaining to this duality which they envisaged as existing between themselves, as the 'chosen' of God, and those who were not 'chosen' of God to be members of the community. The rhetorical figures which they used to depict this duality contain a great deal of overlapping; but, it is possible, in most instances, to detect the antithetical element.

The 'light-darkness' antithesis is very prominent. As was earlier seen, men are either 'sons of light',¹² or 'sons of darkness'.¹³ There are "two Spirits allotted unto man" (I QS iii,18). These are the "Spirits of light and darkness" רוחות אור וחוֹשֶׁךְ.¹⁴ In the natural world, there is a 'dominion of light' ברשיח ממסלת אור (I QS x,1)¹⁵ and a 'dominion of darkness' ברשיח ממסלת חושך (I QH xii,6);¹⁶ so, likewise, the "dominion over all the sons of righteousness is in the hand of the Prince of light"¹⁷ אור בדרכּי אור (IQS iii,20); and, "All dominion over the sons of perversity is in the hand of the Angel of darkness"

¹² I QS i,9: ii,16: iii,13,24,25; I QM i,1,3,9,11,13.

¹³ I QS i,10; I QM i,1,7,10,16: iii,6,9: xiii,16: xiv,17: xvi,11.

¹⁴ I QS iii,13-iv,26 is the chief reference. Light and darkness are not the only figures used to describe the diversity of the two Spirits given to man. Figures such as the Spirits of Truth and Perversity and others will be dealt with subsequently in this study.

¹⁵ To the Sectary the rising sun which ruled the 'dominion of light' was equated with the actual presence of God in a personal encounter, "Thou hast appeared unto me in Thy might at daybreak." (I QH iv,23). Light, truth, goodness and righteousness, as well as other virtues, were representative of the Spirit of Truth.

¹⁶ Likewise, the darkness of nature was representative of the dominion of perversity and unrighteousness...of sin. Compare I QS iii, 20-22.

¹⁷ Mentioned also in CD v,18. Not much is said as to who this 'Prince of Light' is. But the importance for this study is that the duality between the 'sons of righteousness' (I QS iii,20) and the 'sons of perversity' (I QS iii,20) is depicted in terms of a cosmic duality in which the 'Prince of Light' (Cf. also I QS iii,24 where the expression 'The Angel of Truth', possibly Gabriel) holds dominion over the 'sons of righteousness'; while, the 'Angel of darkness' (I QS iii,20-21) holds dominion over the 'sons of perversity'.

מלאך חושך (I QS iii,20-21).¹⁸ There is the "Way of light" ובדרכי חושך (I QS iii,3);¹⁹ and, the "way of darkness" אור יתהלכו (I QS iii,21).²⁰ Truth "originates in a fountain of light" אור במצונו while Perversity "originates in a fountain of darkness" וממקור חושך (I QS iii,19). The Qumran Psalmist has written about God, "For thou art unto me as a light eternal" למאור (עו) לם (I QH vii,25).²¹ Belial, as the 'Angel of Darkness', is associated with darkness or evil by contrast (I QS iii,20-21). There are those men who are of the "lot of light" וגורל אל לאור... (I QM xiii,5-6);²² whereas, all others fall into the "lot of darkness" המה גורל חושך (I QM xiii,5).²³ The deterministic element is already discerned in the association of the duality of the fate or lot of the two groups represented by light and darkness. The concept will be more fully treated later in this chapter.

The light-darkness paradigm is also utilized with reference to eternal destinies. For, in the list of rewards which will be conferred upon all who walk in the 'Spirit of Light', it is mentioned that they will receive a "robe of honour, amid light everlasting" באור עולמים (I QS iv,8): whereas, the 'sons of darkness' will receive their 'visitation' by the wrath of God in the Pit of Hell where even the destructive fires cannot dissipate the darkness (I QS iv,12-24).²⁴

Truth and Perversity represent another of the important antitheses of the Qumran Scrolls. The 'Two Spirits which God has allotted to

¹⁸His dominion reaches to all (I QS iii,23): for, God has given to each and every man a portion of each of the Two Spirits (I QS iii,18, 19,24). Belial is also called the 'Spirit of darkness' (Testament of Levi, xix: and, Testament of Joseph, vii,xx).

¹⁹Cf. also I QS iii,20.

²⁰Cf. also I QS iv,11: xi,10.

²¹Cf. IQH vii,25; Isa. lx, 19-20; I QH xii,15; xviii,1-3.

²²I QH vi,14(?): I QM xiii, 9,12,16.

²³I QM i,1,11.

²⁴I QS ii,7-8; Cf. Book of Enoch, ciii,8.

man' are the Spirit of Truth רוחנות האמת²⁵ and the Spirit of Perversity רוחות..והעול²⁶ (I QS iii,18-19). Men walk either in the ways of Truth or of Perversity, each of which is an abomination to the other (I QM iv,17).²⁷ God is described as a 'God of Truth' אל אמת (I QH xv,25), who hates and will eternally destroy all Perversity and all Perverse beings from the universe (I QS iv,18-23).²⁸ Men are regarded as 'sons of Truth' בני אמת (I QS iv,5-6):²⁹ or, as 'sons of perversity' בני עול ממשלת בני עול (I QS iii,21).³⁰ Men are of the 'lot of Truth' בגורר אמתה (I QM xiii,12): or, of the 'lot of Perversity' בגורל עול וכירשתו בגורל עול (I QS iv,24).³¹ There is a 'dominion of the sons of perversity' בול ממשלת בני עול (I QS iii,21)³² and a 'dominion over the spirits of Truth' וכול רוחי אמת בממשלתו (I QM xiii,10).³³

From the discussion thus far, two of the more commonly recognized antitheses have emerged; i.e., that of the 'two ways' and of the 'two Spirits'. Possibly these two antitheses are better known because of the comparisons which have been made between the Qumran Scrolls and

²⁵I QS iv,21,23; I QM xiii,10.

²⁸Cf. I QH xiv,15,25-26; xv,25.

²⁶I QS iv,9,17,20,23.

²⁹

²⁷Cf. CD iii,15; I QH xiv,26.

See also I QM xiii,12; I QH vi,29; vii,30; ix,35; xi,11.

³⁰The antithesis is clearly reiterated in another Qumran document known as the Book of Mysteries (I QMyst - I Q27) I,5-9, in which mention is made again of the 'sons of Perversity'. Wickedness is mentioned in antithetical relationship to Righteousness, darkness to light, knowledge to foolishness and Truth to Perversity. I am following Dupont-Sommer's translation, Loc. cit., 327.

³¹Compare I QS ii,17. There are repeated references to 'perverse men' as well. Cf. I QS v,2,10; viii,13; ix,19; x,20; and, xi,9.

³²I QS iv,19.

³³Compare I QS iii,20. The figures are interchanged to 'sons of righteousness', rather than 'sons of truth'; but, the antithetical relationship still remains, as the whole lies in the context of the antithesis between 'Truth and Perversity'.

other Jewish and Christian literature of the epoch.³⁴ A brief consideration will be given to several of these antitheses in-as-much as they are of prime importance in understanding the duality and subsequently the determinism of the Qumran Sectaries.

The rhetorical figures of the 'two Ways' were employed by Jewish authors long before the Qumran episode. The Old Testament uses a variety of figures,³⁵ occasionally employing antithetical relationships³⁶ to portray the 'ways' of human experience. While the doctrine of the 'Two Ways' as taught in the Qumran Scrolls may not find identical expression in the canonical literature; still, there are certain similarities in some of the figures employed. Böcher suggests:

"Obgleich also das Bild von den zwei Wegen im AT vorkommt begegnet jedoch nirgends der Ausdruck "zwei Wege". Noch ist dieses Bild nicht zum dualistischen Schema geworden; es findet sich im AT noch "gleichsam unreflektiert."³⁷

³⁴Striking similarities have been readily observed between the treatment of the concept of the 'Two Ways' in one of the 'Mandates' of the Shepherd of Hermas, Lightfoot & Harmer, *Apostolic Fathers: Revised Texts* 325-27; 428-29; in the Latin *Two Ways* and the Greek *Teachings*; Schlecht, *Doctrina XII Apostolorum* 105-12; and the *Epistles of Barnabas*, Lightfoot & Harmer, *Op. cit.*, 262-87. The differences and similarities have been observed by Audet, RB, NS LIX 219-298 and LX 47-82; Driver, *The Judean Scrolls*, 553-558; W. Michaelis, "ὁδός": ThWV. Stuttgart, 1954, 42-101; and, F. Nötscher, *Gotteswege und Menschenwege in der Bibel und in Qumran* (Bonner Biblische Beiträge 10). Bonn 1958.

³⁵The figure of the 'way', לִּדְרֹךְ, is very common; the association of 'darkness' with the way is found in *Prov.* 4:19, "The way of the wicked (is) as darkness." Compare *Deut.* 28:29; *Psalms* 35:6; *Psalms* 82:5; *Prov.* 2:13, *Isa.* 59:9; and, *Jer.* 23:12. 'Light' is also associated with the way. See *Prov.* 4:18, "But the path of the just is as the shining light..." Also, *Job* 3:23; 22:28 and *Isa.* 9:2. Some of the 'ways' are the 'way of God's commandments' (*Psalms* 119:33), the 'way of the Lord' (*Psalms* 25:10), the 'way of truth' (*Psalms* 119:33), the 'way of life' (*Psalms* 16:11; *Prov.* 6:23), the 'way of death' (*Prov.* 16:25), the 'way of falsehood' (*Psalms* 119:29), the 'way of righteousness' (*Prov.* 16:31), and, the 'way of the wicked' (*Psalms* 146:9).

³⁶See *Job* 38:19; *Psalms* 1:6 and *Psalms* 139:24. Also, in *Prov.* 12:28, the Septuagint Version, where it is written, *Ἐν ὁδοῖς δικαιοσύνης ζωὴ, ὁδοὶ δὲ μνηστράων εἰς θάνατον*; for which also compare *Prov.* 28:6, 18.

³⁷O. Böcher, *Loc. cit.*, 79. W. Michaelis, *Loc. cit.*, 55. S. Wibbing, *Die Tugend- und Lasterkatalege im Neuen Testament* (ZNW, Beiheft 25). Berlin, 1959.

It is likely that the Qumran concept of the 'Two Ways' may have found a better basis for its dualistic inclinations in other literature of the period³⁸ than in the canonical literature; although, the canonical concepts could well have contributed to their understanding.

The doctrine of the 'Two Ways' is representative of the dualism reflected in the whole world-view of the people of Qumran. Men walk in the 'ways of light' בִּרְכֵי אֹר (I QS iii,20);³⁹ or else, in the 'ways of darkness', וּבִרְכֵי חֹשֶׁךְ יִתְהַלְכוּ (I QS iii,21).⁴⁰ The 'ways of man' בִּרְכֵי רֶשַׁע (I QS iii,6)⁴¹ 'are ways of wickedness' רֶשַׁע (I QS iv,19),⁴² and of 'Perversity' וְרַר עֲוִלָּה (I QH xiv,26). In contradistinction, the 'ways of God' וּכְוֹל דְּרָכֵיכָה אֵל (I QH vii,31)⁴³ are 'ways of Truth' וּדְרָכֵי אֱמֶת (CD ii,15).⁴⁴ God's ways are the 'ways of perfection' כֹּתֵם דְּרָכָיו (I QS i,13).⁴⁵ He 'hates all the ways' לִנְצַח דְּרָכֵי שָׂנֵא 'of the perverse man forever'.

The figures are often used in close relationship. For instance, 'he shall establish his steps וְיַהֲכִין פַּעְמָיו to walk perfectly (blamelessly) לְהִלָּכַת תַּמִּים in all the ways of God אֵל בְּכֹל דְּרָכָי (I QS iii, 9-10). Similarly, "Thou hast established my heart...and dost direct

³⁸Test Ass I,3 says that God has given two ways to the children of men. These are the 'ways of Good', אֱלֹהִים, and the 'way of evil', אֲשֶׁר, Test Ass I,5. In s1Hen 30,15, God showed Adam the two ways of light and darkness, and explained, "This is good and that evil". In each of these passages it is clear that there is the possibility of human free-will. That, is that men can choose which of the two ways they will walk in. Compare Test Lev 19,1, where men can choose between darkness and light; between the law of the Lord and the works of Beliares. Compare also Test Naphth 2,6,1.

³⁹I QS iii,3.

⁴⁰I QS iv,11.

⁴¹I QH iv,31; xv,13; CD i,9.

⁴²CD ii,2; iii,17; viii,9; xix,21.

⁴³CD i,8; I QS iii,10.

⁴⁴Cf. I QS iv,17. The 'Two Spirits' with their cosmic dimensions, being analogous with the 'Two Ways', suggest that there are cosmic dimensions in the 'Two Ways' also.

⁴⁵Compare I QS xi,11; I QS iv,2.

my steps⁴⁶ לִישָׁר פַּעַמִּי in truth towards the paths⁴⁷, לִנְתִּיבוֹת צְדָקָה, of righteousness, that I may walk⁴⁸ לִתְתַּחֲלֹךְ before thee" (I QH vii,13-14).

In a passage from the Book of Psalms an indication of the deterministic quality of the antithesis of the 'Two Ways' is evident, "By Thee is the way of all the living ordained" (I QH xv,22); which is an answer to the question asked just before, "Can he that is dust establish his steps?" (I QH xv,21). The problem is complicated by the fact that men were called upon to depart from their evil doings לִרְחוֹק מִכּוֹל רָע (I QS i,4) and to enter into the 'council of God' בְּעֵצָה אֵל (I QS i,8,10); indicating the possibility of a personal choice: which, along with other materials to be presented later in this chapter suggests that notwithstanding the very deterministic utterances which the authors of the Scrolls recorded, there were certain ideas in their thinking which may have contradicted to some extent their otherwise absolutely deterministic sentiments. It is possible that these apparent discrepancies were not so viewed by the Sectararies of Qumran.

Those persons who entered the community of Qumran were the ones who chose 'the Way' לְבוֹתְרֵי דֶרֶךְ (I QS ix,18).⁴⁹ But, it is a question still to be considered whether a man chose of himself to enter 'the Way' or whether he was 'chosen of God' to 'enter the Way', "For a mortal's way is (not) of himself, neither can a man direct his own steps. The judgment lies with God, and 'tis His to perfect man's way." (I QS xi,10).⁵⁰

⁴⁶Compare I QS i,13; iii,11; xi,10; I QH xv,13; xv,21.

⁴⁷The Sectararies were not to walk either to the right or to the left of the straight path. Cf. I QS i, 14-15; iii,10-11.

⁴⁸The figure of 'walking' is used repeatedly throughout the Scrolls; at times, in antithetical fashion. Cf. I QH xv,15,18. See, especially the antithesis of the figure in I QS iv,6,12.

⁴⁹Cf. I QS x,21; xi,10,11,13; and also I QH iv,4.

⁵⁰Gaster, Loc. cit., 142; Cf. I QS xi,13,17.

Reference is also made to those that 'turn from the way' סוררי דרך (I QS x,21). 'The Way' obviously refers to those who had accepted the rules of the community and were totally separated from the congregation of 'Perverse men' סערת אנשי העול (I QS v,1-2), meaning all other men. These were regarded as 'Those who pass into the covenant' יעבורו בכרית (I QS i,16)⁵¹ and they were to be entirely separated from 'all who are not counted in His Covenant', לוא החשבון בכריתו (I QS v,11).⁵² The separation of the Sectaries from all 'Perverse men' אנשי העול (I QS v,10) was a rigid proscription which forbade the members of the community to have any association with evil men in works or possessions. They were to keep away from such persons in every respect...not to eat or drink of anything that belonged to them, or to receive anything from them except cash (I QS v,14-17); "all that are not reckoned in the Covenant must be put aside, and all that they possess" (I QS v,18).⁵³ This segregation of men into two mutually exclusive groups is recurrent throughout the writings. Those of the Covenant are they who 'walk in His will', ולהתהלך ברכונו (I QS v,10);⁵⁴ while others, Perverse men, 'walk in the way of wickedness' ההולכים בדרך הרשעה (I QS v,10-11).⁵⁵ The author of the Book of Psalms states the case for the wicked in a similar way, "They have walked in the way which is not good and have despised (Thy) co(venant)" (I QH xv,18).⁵⁶

Thus, the people who walk in one or the other of the 'Two Ways' are spoken of with a wide variety of rhetorical figures, of which more is yet to be said. In the War Scroll, the 'sons of the Covenant' בני

⁵¹I QS i,16,18,20,24; ii,10.

⁵²Compare CD xiii,14,15.

⁵³Gaster, Loc. cit., 53; Cf. also I QS v,18; CD,v,12; xiii,14; I QH xiv,21; xv,18.

⁵⁴Compare I QS iv,22, "God

has chosen them for an everlasting Covenant"; I Sb,I,2; I QS v, 5-6; x,10; I QH x,30; I Sb iii, 23-25.

⁵⁵"They are all vanity who know not His Covenant." I QS v,19.

⁵⁶Dupont-Sommer, Loc. Cit., 212.

בְּרִיתוֹ (I QM xvii,8) are equated with the 'sons of truth', בְּנֵי אֱמֶת (I QM xvii,8) who belong to the 'lot of God' אֵל שְׁלוֹם וּבִרְכָּה לְגִוְרֵל אֵל (I QM xvii,7) Once again the deterministic element is suggested. The people who have entered into 'the Way', meaning the way of Truth, are those who have entered into the Covenant, to walk in the way of truth and light. These are they who belong to the 'lot of God'. They stand completely separate from those other persons who walk in the Spirit and way of Perversity,⁵⁷ the 'men of the Pit',⁵⁸ who are of the 'lot of Belial'.⁵⁹ Here, the cosmological dimension of the dualistic notions of the Qumran Sectaries is more apparent. It is written in the Book of Psalms, "For thou, O God, despisest every thought of Belial."⁶⁰ The 'Council of vanity and the congregation of Belial' סֹד שׁוֹא וְעֵדֶת בְּלִיעֵל consists of the 'Spirit of evil' רוּחַת...וְהַעוֹל (I QS iii,10-19), known also as the 'Prince or Angel of Darkness' וּבִמְלָאךְ חֹשֶׁךְ (I QS iii,21); that is, Belial,⁶¹ and the 'spirits of his lot' וּכְוֹל רוּחֵי גִוְרֵל which are 'angels of destruction' מְלָאכֵי חֶבֶל (I QM xiii,4,11-12) unite with all the 'sons of Perversity' בְּנֵי עוֹל (I QS iii,21) in a struggle against the 'God of Israel' יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאֵל (I QS iii,24) and 'His Angel of Truth' וּמְלָאךְ אֱמֶתוֹ עוֹר (I QS iii,24)⁶² and the 'angels of holiness' מְלָאכֵי קֹדֶשׁ (I QM vii,6)⁶³ along with

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I QS iii,19-24; iv,9-18.

⁵⁸

As to the Pit or grave, Cf. I QS iv,12; xi,13; CD xiv,2 and I QH ii,21. Concerning the men or sons of the pit, Cf. I QS ix,16,22; CD vi,15; xiii,14 and I QH xiii,5.

⁵⁹

I QS ii,5: 'lot of perversity', I QS iv,24; I QM i,5; iv,2: xiii,2.

⁶⁰

I QH iv,12-13. Gaster, Loc. cit., 212.

⁶¹

Cf. I QS iii,22; I QM i,13; xiii,11. "Beliel, or Satan, is the Evil Spirit, the Angel of Darkness, the Commander of the Army of evil." Dupont-Sommer, Loc. cit., p. 74, footnote 3.

⁶²

Dupont-Sommer sees this Angel as "an amalgam of the Spirit of Good with the ancient biblical representation of the 'Angel of Yahwey'." Loc. cit., 79, footnote 2. Cf. I QM xvii,6.

⁶³

I QM i,15; x,11; xii,1,4,8.

the 'sons of light' בני אור (I QS iii,24-25), also called the 'sons of righteousness' בני צדק (I QS iii,22); the 'community of God' אל ביתר (I QS ii,22-26); or, the 'eternal community' יחד צולמים (I QS iii,12).

This suggests another great dualistic notion of the Qumran Sectaries; i.e., that of the 'Two Spirits'⁶⁴ — of Truth רוחות האמת⁶⁵ and of Perversity רוחות...והעול⁶⁶ (I QS iii,18-19); also called the 'Spirits of light' אור רוחות and of 'darkness' רוחות...והושך (I QS iii,25).⁶⁷ The struggle between these 'Two Spirits' is a part of every human life; for, each person has received a portion of these 'Two Spirits' within himself (I QS iv,15-16).⁶⁸ But, the struggle is not confined within the microcosm of the individual life;⁶⁹ rather, it is also a conflict within nature and the cosmos.⁷⁰ Gaster has written:

The central idea appears to be that God has appointed sentient spirits to inform and govern the various elements of the universe. The functions and operations of such spirits were determined even before they were created. Man too is endowed with such a spirit. Hence, God knows and determines all that man will ever do, think or say.⁷¹

The duality is also represented by the concepts of the 'dominion of Belial' בממשלת בליעל (I QS i,18)⁷² being engaged in a conflict against the

⁶⁴I QS iii,14,25; iv,1,2,15,21; Cf. also I QH i,9.

⁶⁵I QS iii,19; Cf. I QS iv,16-19; iv,21,23; I QM xiii,10.

⁶⁶I QS iii,19; iv,9,17-20,23-24; I QH i,9.

⁶⁷Compare the similarity of the light-darkness antithesis in the Last Words of Amram. Gaster, Loc. cit., 512-13. See also, in The Testament of Asher i-iv; the Visions v,6 and Mandates ii,12 of Hermes Pastor; the Slavonic Book of Enoch xix,5; and, in the Talmud, Ber. 60; Sheb. 119; and Ta'an 11.

⁶⁸I QS iii,13; iv,23-26.

⁶⁹I QH i,9,15,17.

⁷⁰I QH i,11; iii,24-34; xii,4-30; xvi,8-11; I QM xiii,9-16. Compare CD v,18; I QM xvii,5-9; Assumption of Moses x,8-10.

⁷¹Gaster, Loc. cit., 236.

⁷²I QS i,23; ii,19; iii,21; iii,22-23; iv,19; I QM xiv,9-10; xvii,5; xviii,1,11; I QH i,17; xiii,15.

'dominion of God'.⁷³ The conflict will culminate in the final great war in which the advantage will go three times to the 'sons of light' and three times to the 'sons of darkness', only to have God Himself, with all the 'angels of His dominion' מַלְאכֵי מַמְשְׁלָתוֹ (I QM i,14-15) seize the victory for the forces of light.⁷⁴ For, it is clearly indicated that the period of the conflict between these 'Two Spirits' will terminate. An end will come according to the inscrutable design of God (I QS iii,18,23)⁷⁵ which, again, points to the deterministic element in Qumran thought. "God has set an end for the existence of Perversity; and at the time of the Visitation He will destroy it forever" (I QS iv,18-19).⁷⁶ God has allotted these (Spirits) in equal parts until the final end, the time of Renewal" (I QS iv,25).⁷⁷ Hence, the duality pertains as well to the final 'Visitation' or the rewards to be meted out at the Judgment מִשְׁפָּטִי.⁷⁸ For, the 'sons of Truth' who walk after the 'Spirit of Truth', the Visitation or rewards are clearly set forth in I QS iv,6-8:

...health and abundant well-being, with long life and fruition of seed along with eternal blessings and everlasting joy in the life everlasting, and a crown of glory and a robe of honor amid light perpetual.⁷⁹

Likewise, the rewards for the 'sons of Perversity', who walk in the 'ways of darkness' which characterize the 'Spirit of Perversity', will be those described in I QS iv,12-14:

...everlasting perdition through the angry wrath of an avenging

⁷³I QS iii,20; I QM i,15; x,12; xiii,10; I QH i,17.

⁷⁴Dupont-Sommer. Loc. cit., 171, footnote 3.

⁷⁵The 'Visitation', פְּקֻדָּתוֹ, is a key idea of Qumran eschatology. Cf. I QS iv,6,11,19,26; I QH i,16-17; xiii,7-10. This 'Visitation' will be upon the Perverse men in punishment; and, upon the righteous in reward at the end time; i.e., the judgment.

⁷⁶I QS iv,12-13; viii,10; I QH xiv,15 (Cf xiv,25 also); xv,25.

⁷⁷Dupont-Sommer. Loc. cit., 82.

⁷⁸IQS ii,15; iv,2; iv,20, IQH i, 9,16, xiv,4. ⁷⁹Gaster. Loc. cit., p.49.

God, eternal horror and perpetual reproach, the disgrace of final annihilation in the Fire, darkness throughout the vicissitudes of life in every generation, doleful sorrow, bitter misfortune and darkling ruin—ending in extinction without remnant or survival.⁸⁰

The 'light perpetual' or 'everlasting ages of light' באור

עולמים (I QS iv,8) stands as the antithesis of the 'darkling ruin' or 'calamitous darkness' בהוות חושך (I QS iv,12-13).⁸¹ Likewise, the 'life everlasting' בחי נצח (I QS iv,7) stands as the antithesis of the 'calamitous darkness ending in extinction' ער כלותם (I QS iv, 14). The 'sons of darkness' or 'sons of Perversity' are also known as the 'men of the pit' אנשי שחת (I QS ix,16).⁸² Josephus recorded that the Essenes, "relegate evil souls to a dark pit".⁸³ Members of the community were to separate themselves from the 'sons of the pit' מבני השחת (CD vi,15); and, no member of the Covenant of God was to have any dealings with the 'sons of the pit' (CD xiii,14). This 'separation', ברל of the men of the Qumran community from all others pertained to all aspects of their lives. For instance, the individual member who, having once entered the community (I QS ii,12), falls into iniquity, was to be cut off from association with the 'sons of light' (I QS ii,16). The members of the community were to separate themselves socially, ritually, religiously, and in every other way from those who were not initiated into the community.⁸⁴ They were to distinguish between the 'clean'⁸⁵ and the 'unclean',⁸⁶ ולזהבדיל בין הטמא לטהור (CD vi,17); between that

⁸⁰Gaster. Loc. cit., 50; Cf. I QS ii,6-8, 16-17; v,20; I QH iii, 17-18; I QS x,23.

⁸¹I QH ii,21; iii,19; v,6; xiii,5.

⁸²I QS ix,22; x,19.

⁸³Josephus. Wars, II § 155.

⁸⁴I QS v,1,10,15; viii,13; ix,8,9.

⁸⁵I QS iii,7,8; iv,21; v,13; xi,14; CD xii,20; I QH i,32; iii,21; iv,37; vi,8; vii,30; xi,10,30; xvi,12.

⁸⁶I QS iii,4-5; iv,10; v,14,20; CD vii,3; xii,20; I QH vi,20; xi,11.

which was 'sacred'⁸⁷ and that which was 'profane'⁸⁸ וּלְהוֹדִיעַ בֵּין הַקֹּדֶשׁ לְחֹל (CD vi,18). The community was to be a 'holy community',⁸⁹ לְעִדַת קֹדֶשׁ which was separated from all uncleanness so as not to defile the 'Holy Spirit within them' וְלֹא יִשְׁקֹץ... רִנָּה קִדְשִׁי (CD vii,3,4) so that they might walk in 'holy perfection' הַמַּתְהַלְכִּים בְּאֵלֶּה בְּתַמִּים קֹדֶשׁ (CD vii,5).⁹⁰

This polarity between the two groups is portrayed consistently in the various words which are used to describe the two congregations or communities. The word 'congregation' עֵדָה is used of both the 'congregation of men of perfect holiness' עֵדָת אֲנָשֵׁי תַמִּים קֹדֶשׁ (CD xx,2);⁹¹ and, the 'congregation of Perverse men' מַעֲדַת אֲנָשֵׁי הָעוֹל (I QS v,1).⁹² The duality persists with such distinctions as the 'congregation of God',⁹³ וְעֵדָת בְּלִיעֵל (I QM iv,9) and the 'congregation of Belial',⁹⁴ וְעֵדָת קְדוֹשִׁיכָּה (I QM xii,7,9);⁹⁵ probably a reference to the angels; and to the 'con-

⁸⁷I QS ii,25; v,20; x,12; I QH iii,34; vi,20; xiii,1.

⁸⁸Cf. CD xii,20.

⁸⁹I QS v,20. Cf. I QM i,10; ii,1,5,7,9; xii,7,9; I QHiii,22; xiii,8. By way of contrast, Cf. I QM xv,9; I QH ii,22; vii,34.

⁹⁰I QS i,8; ii,2; iii,3,9; iv,22; viii,18,20,21; ix,5-6,8,9,19; I QM xiv,7; CD,i,21; ii,15; xx,2,5,7; I QH i,36; I Qsb I,2; V,22.

⁹¹I QS v,18; (Cf. I QS v,13); viii,12,20,23; ix,8; CD vii,4-5; xx,5,7.

⁹²CD i,12; ii,1; iii,9; viii,13; xix,26; I QH ii,32; iv,1-2; vi,5; vii,34.

⁹³I QM ii,1,3,5,7; CD xx,2,3,5,7; Cf. 'lot of God' I QS ii,2; I QM i,5; xiii,5; xvii,7.

⁹⁴Cf. 'lot of Belial' I QS ii,5; I QM i,5; iv,2; xii,2; and, 'dominion of Belial' I QS i,18,23; ii,19; I QM xiv,9; CD iv,13,15; v,18; viii,2; xii,2; I QM *passim*; The Rout of Belial, *passim*.

⁹⁵Cf. I QS xi,7-8; I QM i,15; xii,4,7,8; xviii,2; I QH iii,22; iv,25; xi,12; xv,14.

gregation of the gods' עדת אליים (I QM i,10);⁹⁶ also, a probable reference to the angels who join forces with the congregation of the 'sons of light' in their struggle against the forces of Belial and the 'sons of darkness' to secure the final triumph of light and truth.⁹⁷

Other words are used to express the polarity of these two opposing communities or assemblies.⁹⁸ The members of the community, עדה, spoke of it as the 'community of God' אל בעצת (I QS i,12),⁹⁹ the 'community of truth' אמת ביתר (I QS ii,24);¹⁰⁰ or, the 'eternal community' יתר עולםמים (IQH iii,12). Only through careful examination of each candidate, over a specified period of time,¹⁰¹ was he finally admitted to actual membership into this holy community. All others were viewed as being of another 'spirit' and hence as belonging to the congregation of Perverse men¹⁰² ולסור בשר עול.

Other antitheses are to be found which contribute towards an appreciation of the dualistic concepts of the Qumran writings. For instance, there is the 'love-hate' antithesis. The members of the community were to "love all that He (God) has chosen"¹⁰³ לאהוב כול אשר בחר and hate all that He has despised" ולשנוא סת כול אשר מאם (I QS i,

⁹⁶I QH x,8; xv,14; xvii,7; frag. ii,3; Litany of the Angels, 2 5,10.

⁹⁷I QM xii,8; xvii,6; xix,1.

⁹⁸The following words contribute to this concept: עצה, I QS i,8, 10; ii,23,25; I QH vii,10; שור, I QS xi,8; קהל, CD vii,17; קהלה, I QM i,10.

⁹⁹I QH ii,22.

¹⁰⁰I QS ii,26; Cf. I QS v,3.

¹⁰¹Cf. I QH vii,20-21; vi,15-21; viii,24-ix,2.

¹⁰²The 'assembly of flesh' I QS xi,7,9; Cf. I QH ix,16; xiii,13; xvii,25. This very act of the examination of the individual candidate to determine the true nature of the candidate in itself introduces a form of determinism. The decision of the priest who administered the oath of membership had to be viewed as a divine determinism as it was God who allotted the 'spirits' to each man and who knew their rewards throughout all ages (I QS iv,25-26).

¹⁰³I QS ix,16 "And as his love is, so shall his hatred be." Gaster. Loc. cit., 95. Cf. Footnote 3, Ibid. Cf. CD vi,20-21; I QS ix,21-22.

3-4);¹⁰⁴ in particular, to "love all the sons of light ולאהוב כול ולשנוא כול בני ... and ...hate all the sons of darkness" בני אור חושך (I QS i,9-10). The love and hatred of the members of the community were to correspond to the love and hatred of God. For, in the Scrolls it is written concerning God that "The one (i.e., the 'sons of light') God loves everlastingly אל אחת אהב אל ... but... the other ... He hates all his ways forever" וכול דרכיה שנה לבצת (I QS iii,26-iv,1).

The members were to love Truth and Righteousness; but, to hate Perversity (I QH xiv,25-26).¹⁰⁵ The significance of this 'love-hate' antithesis is seen in the 'Visitations of God'. All that a God who loves could give will be bestowed upon those who walk after the 'Spirit of Truth' (I QS iv,6-8); while, at the same time, to those who walk after the 'Spirit of Perversity', "an abundance of blows...by all the Angels of destruction in the everlasting Pit by the furious wrath of the God of Vengeance."¹⁰⁶ As God is depicted as a 'God of Truth' (I QH xv,25)¹⁰⁷ and of 'Knowledge' (I QS iii,15);¹⁰⁸ so, as exemplified by the Qumran Psalmist, the members of the community were to seek for Knowledge and Truth.¹⁰⁹

Once again, in connection with the 'love-hate' antithesis in the experience of each individual, the deterministic factor is the important element of thought. It is written, "According to each man's portion

וכפי בחלת איש of Truth and Righteousness, so does he hate Perversity

¹⁰⁴ I QH xiv,10-11; xiv,24; xvi,10-11; by contrast, I QH xv,19.

xi,4; I QM iv,6; I QH xviii,14; CD ii,3-4.

¹⁰⁵ I QS iv,24; ix,21,22; I QH xiv,25.

¹⁰⁸ I QS xi,15,18; I QH i,26; xi,8,27; xii,10.

¹⁰⁶ Dupont-Sommer, Loc. cit., 80. Cf. I QS iv,19 (iv,18-23); v, 19; I QH xiv,15-16; 4 Qp Ps 37,2,12.

¹⁰⁹ I QH xvi,6-7. Cf. The Last Words of Amram, "That, because of all the knowledge which is theirs, the sons of light will be like a robe without tear or spot..." Gaster. Loc. cit., 513. Cf. I QH xiv,25-26; xvi,7.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. I QS iii,6; iv,20;

יִשְׁנָא עוֹלָה and according to his portion in the lot of Perversity וְכִי־רִשְׁתָּ בְּגוֹרָךְ עוֹלָה...so does he abominate truth" (I QS iv,24). It is God who "has apportioned them (the Spirits of Truth and Perversity) in equal measure וְכִפִּי בְּחֵלֶת אִישׁ until the final age" (I QS iv,16).¹¹⁰ Hence, the love or hatred which a person experienced was the result of the functioning of the particular Spirit which held 'dominion' in the individual life. It must be recalled that both "the Spirits of Truth and Perversity battle in the hearts of every man" (I QS iii,23);¹¹¹ but God has allotted the Spirit to each man, which lends support to the deterministic sentiments of the Qumran authors. The Qumran Psalmist supports these ideas when he writes, "It is Thou who hast formed the Spirit וַפְעוּלָתָהּ הִכִּינוּ and established its activity" (I QH xv,22).¹¹² It is not difficult to sense the association of their strong deterministic sentiments with their dualistic cosmology as depicted in their use of the 'love-hate' antithesis.

Another important antithesis in the Qumran literature centers about the 'righteous-unrighteous' concepts. The 'sons of light' are also called the 'sons of righteousness', בְּנֵי צְדָקָה (I QS iii,20),¹¹³ which immediately places them in contradistinction to the 'sons of darkness', also called the 'sons of perversity' בְּנֵי עוֹלָה (I QS iii,20). It must be recalled that the 'man of understanding' was to teach all of the 'sons of light', "concerning the nature of all the sons of men; all the spirits which they possess, with their distinctive characters; their works; with their classes; and the Visitation in which they are smitten, together with

¹¹⁰Cf. I QH x,27-29. Gaster. Loc. cit. 51.

¹¹¹Cf. the entire passage, I QS iii,22-24; and also I QH i,9. Dupont-Sommer has written, "The two spirits live together within every man and are engaged in constant strug-

gle." Loc. cit. 79, footnote 1.

¹¹²Dupont, Sommer, Loc. cit. 247. Cf. I QH xi,34.

¹¹³As in I QS iii,20-21; probably also I QH xi,34.

the times when they are blessed" (I QS iii,13-15).¹¹⁴ It is when the people of Qumran considered the nature and character of God in contrast to the nature and character of man that they developed more of their distinctive and deterministic concepts. It would be erroneous to suggest a 'God-man' antithesis. But, in the writings of Qumran there are certain attributes of God which stand in antithetical relationship to human attributes. It is essential to understand the basic Qumran concepts of God. That God is righteous (just) is a basic concept. The Qumran Psalmist wrote, "Thou art righteous" אתה צדיק, (I QH xiv,15); and, "Thine, thine is righteousness!" לך אתה הצדקה (I QH xvi,9). The theme recurs throughout the Book of Psalms¹¹⁵ and in the Manual of Discipline.¹¹⁶ The righteousness of God is associated with his eternal existence¹¹⁷ as well as other of His attributes such as 'knowledge',¹¹⁸ כֹּל רָעָה, 'power',¹¹⁹ כֹּל גְּבוּרָה 'glory',¹²⁰ כְּבוֹד, and 'truth',¹²¹ אֱמֶת; and, in a particular sense, with His mercy חֶסֶד.¹²²

The Qumran view of man stands in stark contradistinction to their view of God. That mankind is not righteous of itself is an oft repeated idea. "No man can prove himself righteous when Thou bringest him into judgment" (I QH xi,14).¹²³ "For thou art righteous...but what is he that returns to his dust?" (I QH xii,31).¹²⁴ "The creature of clay"¹²⁵

¹¹⁴Dupont Sommers, Loc. cit., 77-78.

¹¹⁵I QH i,6,26,30; iv,31,40; vii,14,19; viii,2; ix,9,33; xi,7,18,31; xii,31; xiii,1,19; xiv,16; xvi,9,11; xvii,20; xviii,17.

¹¹⁶I QS i,13; x,25; xi,5,12,14,15.

¹¹⁷I QH vii,31; viii,2; xii,31; xiii,1,12-13.

¹¹⁸Cf. I QH i,26; xi,8.

¹¹⁹I QH xi,8. ¹²⁰I QH xi,8.

¹²¹I QH i,26-27; i,30; iv,40; vii,14; xi,7; xiii,19; xvi,4-5.

¹²²I QH xi,31.

¹²³I QH vii,28.

¹²⁴That man in dust, עָפָר, is an often repeated figure. I QS xi,21-22; I QH iii,21; x,4,5,12; xi,3,12; xii,24,25,26,27,31; xii,15; xv,21; xviii,4,12,24,27,31.

¹²⁵The figure of clay, חֹמֶר, is also used several times. I QS xi,22; I QH i,21; iii,24; iv,29; xi,3; xii,26,32; xviii,12.

is without righteousness" (I QH xii,32). "Verily I know that righteousness lies not with man nor perfection of conduct with mortals" (I QH iv, 30).¹²⁶ Reference is made to man "that is born of woman" וְמֵה יֵלֶד אִשָּׁה

(I QH xiii,14).¹²⁷ In the Manual of Discipline it is written:

Who then shall contain Thy Glory? And what is the son of
man himself amidst all Thy marvellous works?
And he that is born of woman, what is his worth before thee?

Truly, this man was shaped from dust and his end is to become
the prey of worms.

Truly, this man is a mere frail image in potter's clay and
inclines to the dust.

What shall clay reply, the thing which the hand fashions?
What thought can it comprehend?¹²⁸

The creature, man, who comes from his mother's womb is flesh and is sinful. "Never could flesh alone attain this, nor that which is molded of clay do wonders so great—steeped in sin from the womb...I know that righteousness lies not with man" (I QH iv,29-30). Thus, the womb becomes a mediatrix of a perpetuated perversity of nature.

The deterministic ideas are very clear in this regard. "Thou hast created the righteous and established him from his mother's womb ..." (I QH xv,14-15). And, likewise, "...thou hast created the wicked for the time of Thy wrath and hast set them apart from their mother's womb for the Day of Massacre" (I QH xv,17).¹²⁹

Another figure employed to refer to man in his perverse, wicked nature is that of 'flesh', בָּשָׂר. Mention is made of the 'assembly of flesh' בְּשַׁר בְּסוֹר (I QS xi,7);¹³⁰ and, of the 'assembly of perverse flesh' וְאֵלֶּי וְלִסְוִי בְּשַׁר עוֹל (I QS xi,9).¹³¹ That this 'assembly' stands as the antithesis of the 'assembly of the elect' is clearly

¹²⁶Gaster, Loc. cit., 160.

¹²⁷I QH xviii,13,16,23-24(?).

¹²⁸I QS x1,20-22.

¹²⁹I QH ix,30.

¹³⁰That 'flesh' is associated with that which is sinful and must be cleansed is shown in I QS iii, 9; iv,20-21; and I QH iv,29.

¹³¹Cf. also I QS xi,12.

stated by Dupont-Sommer, in his footnote explanations for I QS xi,7:

This expression (assembly of flesh) describes the multitude of the damned living in sin and according to the flesh, as opposed to the assembly of the Elect, the sect of the Covenant; cf. line 9, 'the assembly of perverse flesh'. According to this teaching, there are two assemblies just as there are two armies, two parties.¹³²

Several of these figures are used in a combination to describe the perversity and limitations of man in a passage from the Psalms,

Yet never could flesh בשר alone attain unto this,
nor that which is molded of clay יצר חפר and great
do wonders so great
—steeped in sin בעוון מרחם from the womb
and in guilt of perfidy unto old age.
Verily I know that righteousness צדקה lies not in man.¹³³

This concept of 'man' is one which depicts him as standing in a state of polarity when compared with the nature and character of God. 'Dust', 'clay', 'heart of stone',¹³⁴ 'flesh', 'man born from his mother's womb', 'thing kneaded with water',¹³⁵ 'prey of worms';¹³⁶ these, and other figures¹³⁷ portray the estate of man as a result of his perversity, wickedness and sin. One passage from the Psalms is especially graphic in this regard:

Yet am I but a creature of clay יצר החמר and a thing
kneaded with water, ומגבול המים
A foundation of shame ספור הערוב and a fount of
defilement, ומקור הנרה
A crucible of iniquity כור העוון and a fabric
of sin. ומכנה החטאה
A spirit of straying, רוח התועה and perverse, ונבעה
Void of understanding, בלא בינה,
Whom the judgments of righteousness terrify.¹³⁸

¹³² Dupont-Sommer, Loc. cit.
101.

¹³³ I QH iv,29-30. Gaster, Loc. cit. 160. Cf. I QH vii,17; ix,16; xiii,13-14; xv,12,21 "What is he that is flesh to understand Thy works? Can he that is dust establish his steps?" Cf. also I QH x,23; xvii,25.

¹³⁴ I QH xviii,26. ולב האבן
Compare Ezekiel xi,19; xxxvi,26.

¹³⁵ I QH i,21; iii,24, מה אני מגבול
במים xiii,15.

¹³⁶ ולחם רמה מורור I QS xi,21;
Cf. also, I QS vi,10.

¹³⁷ For instance, 'ashes', אבני עפר
I QH x,5; frag. 11,7; frag. iii,
6; and, 'fabric of dust'.
I QH xiii,15.

¹³⁸ I QH i,21-22 Dupont-Sommer, Loc. cit. 203. Cf. I QH xii,24-25; xiii,15.

Hence, in certain matters pertaining to attributes, character and nature, the creature stands in antithetical relationship to the Creator. The limitations of human experience stand in stark contradistinction to the unlimited existence of God. The moral turpitude of man is set forth in contradistinction to the Righteous Character of God, his Maker, as in I QS x,23, "I will open my mouth wide with thanksgiving, and my tongue shall ever relate the righteousness of God אל וצדקות and the perfidy of men ימעל אנשים until men's transgressions shall be ended."

But, this is not the entire picture; as, there is, in the Qumran writings, the portrayal of another group, the 'men of the Covenant', who stand in an entirely different relationship to God than do their evil co-inhabitants of this earth. The soteriological concepts of Qumran are of great significance in this context. And their ideas are recurring throughout their writings. For instance, in a Psalm fragment, it is recorded, "Thou hast shaped that clay on the wheel and passed it through Thy test, that it may find its way into Thy lot."¹³⁹ Also, "(Thou, a God of mercy, dealest mercifully with all) men and Thou dost provide for them a way of return."¹⁴⁰ As a result of gaining admission into the 'assembly of the men of the Covenant', the individual was to experience a spiritual metamorphosis. He was to become a 'son of light' in contradistinction to the 'sons of darkness'.

The orderly rising and setting of the sun were events of great spiritual symbolism for the members of the Qumran sect.¹⁴¹ "With the coming of day and night I shall come ever anew into God's Covenant; and

¹³⁹ Hymn fragment ii,9. The whole passage from ii,7-12 reflects the concept of the creature of clay being 'changed'. Gaster, Loc. cit. 211.

¹⁴⁰ Hymn fragment i,11-12. Gaster, Loc. cit. 210.

¹⁴¹ I QS x,1-8; I QH xii,4-9. It must be remembered that there is a cosmological dualism involved here in that they believed that God had set Great Spirits over light and darkness. "Thou didst assign them to bear rule...over the sun and moon..." I QH i,11-12. Gaster, Loc. cit. 145.

when evening and morning depart, shall observe how he sets their bounds" (I QS x,10)¹⁴² was the daily pledge of the Sectaries. The passing of darkness due to the rising of the sun was symbolic of the spiritual transformation in their lives. The Qumran Psalmist has recorded these words:

Behold, for mine own part,
I have reached the inner vision.
and through the Spirit Thou hast
placed within me,
come to know Thee, my God.
I have heard Thy wondrous
secret, nor heard it amiss.

Thou hast caused a spring of
knowledge to well up within me,
A fountain of strength, pouring
forth waters unstinted, a floodtide
of lovingkindness and of all-
consuming zeal.
Thou hast put an end to (my
darkness), and the splendor of Thy
glory has become unto me as a light
everlasting).¹⁴³

The central purpose in becoming a member of this rigorously austere community was so that this process of 'justification' משפט¹⁴⁴ might be effected. But, again, it was entirely the 'mercy of God' towards the 'sons of light' which made this change possible. Column xi of the Manual of Discipline clearly sets forth the central ideas of this soteriology. The concepts are clearly reiterated in the other Scrolls as well.

In the first instance, the initiate acknowledged that it was the work of God to effect this change. As it was written in I QS xi,2-3.

To God I commit my cause לא אל משפטי.¹⁴⁵
It is His to perfect my way ובידו תום דרכי.¹⁴⁶
His to make straight my heart עם ישור לבבי.¹⁴⁷
He, in His charity, will wipe
away my transgression.

(cont'd. on next page)

¹⁴² I QM xiv,14; frag. iv,3;
I QH iv,6.
¹⁴³ I QH xii,11-15 Gaster,
Loc. cit., 191; Psalms, frag. ii,12,
"(Mere flesh hast thou lit with a
light) perpetual, that there be no
reversion to darkness, for (),
and a light hast Thou revealed that
it never can be turned back." Gaster,
Loc. cit., 211.

¹⁴⁴

"The Hebrew word משפט is

translated 'justification'... this
definite meaning seems more suitable
here than the general sense of
'justice'." Dupont-Sommer, Loc. cit.,
101.

¹⁴⁵

Cf. xi,10,12,14. Lohse has
used 'Gerechtigkeit' in these lines.
Die Texte aus Qumran, 41.

¹⁴⁶

Cf. I QS x,21; xi,11; I QH
iv,31.

¹⁴⁷

The heart is the battlefield
of the 'two Spirits' I QS iv,23;
Cf. I QS x,21; xi,9,16.

For He from the Wellspring of knowledge כִּיָּא מַמְקוֹר דַּעְתָּ¹⁴⁸
 has made His light to burst forth.¹⁴⁹
 and mine eye has gazed on His wonders;
 and the light that is in my heart has
 pierced the deep things¹⁵⁰ of existence.¹⁵¹

The theme of the transformation which is wrought by God for the members of the community brought forth rhapsodies of praise and wonderment. The initiate also acknowledged that his Perversity had condemned him to a death with 'those of darkness':

But I--- I belong to wicked mankind, וְאֲנִי לְאָדָם רָשָׁע,¹⁵²
 to the communion of sinful flesh. וּלְסוֹד בֶּשֶׂר עוֹל,¹⁵³
 My transgressions, my iniquities and sins עוֹנוֹתַי פְּשָׁעֵי חַטָּאתַי
 and the transgressions of my heart עַם נַעֲוִית לִבִּי
 condemn me to communion with the worm לְסוֹד רֶמֶס,¹⁵⁴
 and with all that walk in darkness. וְהוֹלְכֵי חוֹשֶׁךְ¹⁵⁵

God can work this change whereby the Perverse man becomes a righteous man. It is by the 'Mercy of God' that light and truth come to the individual; as it was written in the Scrolls:

In Thine anger come all judgments of affliction
 But in Thy goodness וּבְרַחֲמֶיךָ,¹⁵⁶ pardon abounding רַבּוֹב מְלִיחוֹת,¹⁵⁷
 And Thy mercies וְרַחֲמֶיךָ,¹⁵⁸ are shed upon all who do
 Thy will.¹⁵⁹

The Qumran Psalmist never ceases to extol the attributes of God in contradistinction to the weaknesses and sinfulness of men. That God

¹⁴⁸ Cf. I QS iii,19; x,12; xi, 5,6; I QH ii,18; vi,17; viii,4,8,14, 20,21; x,31; xii,29; xviii,10,12,13, 15. (By contrast, Cf. I QS iii,19; I QH i,22; xii,25).

¹⁴⁹ I QS xi,5; I QH vii,24-25; ix,26; xii,15; xviii,29.

¹⁵⁰ בְּרִי (ז) נְהִיָּה; i.e., 'the secret counsel of Thy Truth'. Cf. I QH xi,4,9-10.

¹⁵¹ I QS xi,2,3.

¹⁵² I QH iii,24.

¹⁵³ Cf. I QS iii,9; xi,7,12; I QH ix,16; xiii,13; xvii,25; xviii,21.

¹⁵⁴ I QS xi,21.

¹⁵⁵ I QS xi,9-10. Gaster, Loc. cit. 141.

¹⁵⁶ I QS xi,14; I QM xviii,8; I QH vii,30; x,14-16; xi,6,9,31; xii, 21; xiii,16; xiv,17; xviii,14; frag. iv,13.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. I QS ii,8; iii,6-12; xi,3; CD ii,4; iii,18; iv,6,9-10; xiv,19; xx,34; I QH iv,37; v,2; vii,18,30,35; ix,13,34; x,21; xi,9,31; xiv,24; xvi, 16; xvii,12,15,18.

¹⁵⁸ I QS i,22; ii,1,7; xi,13; I QH i,31; iv,32,36; vi,9; vii,18,27,30; ix,8,30,34; x,14,16,21; xi,9,29,32; xiv,3; xv,16; xvi,9,16; xvii,11; xviii,14,25; I QM xi,4.

¹⁵⁹ I QH xi,8-9. Gaster, Loc. cit. 187.

is righteous and that mankind is evil is constantly set forth in an antithetical fashion.

But, the single most vital concept is that God, through His Mercy, effects this change. "By His righteousness are my rebellions blotted out";¹⁶⁰ 'from the fount of His Righteousness comes my justification';¹⁶¹ "No, men cannot establish their steps, for their justification belongs to God, and from His hand comes perfection of way";¹⁶² "He has caused me to approach by His Mercy ברחמי הגיטני and by His favours He will bring my justification. ובחסדי יביא משפטי. He has justified me by His True justice and by His immense goodness וברוב טובו He will pardon all my iniquities יכפר בעד כול עוונותי And by His justice He will cleanse me of the defilement of man יטהרני מנדה אנוש and of the sins of the sons of men והטאת בני אדם."¹⁶³ "This is the way those spirits operate in the world. The enlightenment of man's heart להאיר להאיר the making straight before him all the ways of righteousness and truth בלבב איש דרכי דרך אמת the implanting in his heart of fear for the judgments of God ולפחד לבבו במשפטי"¹⁶⁴ "(I give thanks unto Thee, O Lord,...)(For Thou hast) put (Truth in my heart) and righteousness (in my spirit,...)".¹⁶⁵ I was stayed by Thy grace נשענתי (תי) בחסדיכה Thy plenteous compassion והמון רחמיכה dost wipe out sin תכפר עוונותי and with Thy righteousness purge away man's guilt ולט (הר אנוש) טאשמה."¹⁶⁶ בצדקתכה

These and other references throughout the Scrolls emphasize that it is the 'mercy', 'goodness' and 'favour' of God which makes it possible

¹⁶⁰ I QS xi,3. Dupont-Sommers, Loc. cit. 101.

¹⁶¹ I QS xi,5. Dupont-Sommers, Ibid.

¹⁶² I QS xi,10-11. Dupont-Sommers, Loc. cit. 102.

¹⁶³ I QS xi,13-15. Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ I QS iv,2-3 (also 4-6). Gaster, Loc. cit. 49.

¹⁶⁵ I QH ii,1-4. Gaster, Loc. cit. 148.

¹⁶⁶ I QH iv,37. Gaster, Loc. cit. 161. Cf. I QS xi,14; iii,6; (by contrast ii,8); CD iii,18; iv,9-10;xiv,19.

for man to change from the 'unclean' to the 'clean';¹⁶⁷ from the 'wicked' to the 'just'¹⁶⁸ in the sight of God and of man. The purificatory rituals of bathing, with reference to both the initiatory cleansing and the daily purification, were the rigidly observed practical outworking of these concepts.¹⁶⁹ Possibly no other rite of the Qumran Sectaries so differentiated the 'holy' members of the sect from all others in such a definite antithetical relationship. But, there is more than the 'mercy', 'goodness' and 'favours' of God that is involved in this change; for, it is precisely in this connection that the Qumran concept of determinism has found its most explicit expression.

It was earlier noted, in the passage from I QS xi,10-11, that it was written, "from His hand comes perfection of way" וּמִיָּדוֹ תוֹם הַדֶּרֶךְ. The figure of the 'hand' יָד is common in the Scrolls and at times it is employed to suggest the element of determinism; as in I QS iii,16-17. "In His hand בְּיָדוֹ מִשְׁפָּטֵי כוֹל are the laws of all (beings)..." It is said that "Dominion over all the sons of righteousness is in the hand of the Prince of light" וּבְיָד שָׂר אֲנֹרִים; while, at the same time (and, here is where the slant of a time-delimited cosmological dualism enters in) "All dominion over the sons of perversity is in the hand of the Angel of darkness" וּבְיָד מַלְאָךְ חוֹשֶׁךְ (I QS iii,20). The idea that the destiny of man lies in the 'hand of God' is often expressed.¹⁷⁰ "I know that in His hand בְּיָדוֹ מִשְׁפָּט כוֹל חַי is the judgment of all the living" (I QS x, 16-17).¹⁷¹ The authors of the Scrolls associated their ideas of determinism with their interpretation of the part played by the 'hand of God'

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For 'unclean' Cf. I QS iii, 2-12; iv,5; v,14,19f., x,24; xi,14; CD iii,17; v,7; vi,15; vii,3; x,11f.; xi,19f.22f.; xii,11-18; xx,23; I QH i, 2; xi,11; xii,25; xvii,19. For 'Clean' Cf. I QS iv,5; v,13; vi,16,22, 25; vii,3,16,25; viii,17f.24; ix,15; I QM vii,3-8; CD ix,21,23.

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Cf. I QS xi.

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Josephus, War. II, 129, 138, 149, 150; CD x,11-13; I QS v,13-14; vi,16-17; iii,4-9.

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I QM i,14; iii,8; iv,3,7; xi, 1,8,13; xv,13; xviii,1,13-14; I QH iv,35.

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I QH v,4.

throughout Jewish history.¹⁷² A passage in the Psalms particularly relates the deterministic ideas of the Qumran sect to the 'hand of God', "...because of Thine understanding I know that (the righteousness of man) is not in the hand of flesh (...) לֹא בִיּוֹד בָּשָׂר (and) that man (is not) master of his way אִם דִּרְכּוֹ (...) and that mankind cannot strengthen its step. And I know that the inclination (...) בִּידְךָ יֵצֵר כּוֹל רוּחַ of every spirit is in Thy hand (and that) Thou hast ordained (the way of every man) (together with his visitation) before ever creating him."¹⁷³ Similar sentiments are expressed elsewhere. The following passage is especially pertinent as it combines several of the associated ideas:

So hast Thou graced me, Thy servant, with the spirit of knowledge and truth, that I should cherish the paths of righteousness and abhor all froward ways. So for mine own part, I in turn will love thee freely	and with all my heart will I (choose) (to walk in) Thy paths. For by Thy hand has this thing been wrought <u>מִיָּדְךָ הֵיטָה זֶה</u> and without (Thy will) can naught be done). ¹⁷⁴
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The cosmological dualism is further clarified in this connection by the references to the 'hand of Belial'. Concerning those who had entered into His covenant but did not hold firm to the precepts, the lot of such would be destruction "when He visits them for the destruction by the hand of Belial לְכַלֵּה בִיּוֹד בְּלִיעֵל (CD viii,2).¹⁷⁵ Suffice it at this juncture to note that the people of Qumran believed that the 'hand of God' was in control of all the elements within His cosmos. In the final analysis, even the 'hand of Belial' was supposed to be controlled by the 'hand of God'.¹⁷⁶

In the passage from I QH xv,13 mentioned above it is written, "I know that the inclination יֵצֵר of every spirit is in Thy hand..." The word refers to 'that thing which is formed', hence, a creature of clay

¹⁷² CD ii,12; v,21; iv,13; vi,1; xix,7; I QM x,6; xi,2,11; xii,11; xv,13; xviii,3; I QH xv,4-5,11-12;17-18; xviii,9.

¹⁷³ I QH xv,12-14. Dupont-Sommer, Loc. cit. 246.

¹⁷⁴ I QH xiv,25-28. Gaster, Loc. cit. 198.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. CD xix,14, where the identical sentiments are expressed.

¹⁷⁶ I QM xviii,1. More will be said in this regard later in this chapter.

as in I QH xii,26,32); or, of dust (I QH xii,26; xviii,31). But, the word has abstract connotations as well in that it refers to a 'concept formed in the mind'; hence, 'thought, purpose, imagination or inclination'. The use of the word in the Qumran Scrolls suggests that in the very formation (creation) of the creature by God that the 'inclination' placed within that being was a part of the creative act.¹⁷⁷ The idea of each man having either a good or evil inclination seems to be exactly similar to the idea of the 'two spirits' within each man. It is written, for instance, "Can flesh born of guilty inclinations be glorious?" יִכְבֹּד וְבִשְׂרָ מִיֵּצֶר (חֹמֶר) (I QH ix,16).¹⁷⁸ It was said of the ways and reward of those who are under the dominion of the spirit of Truth that they would have "zeal for just ordinances, and holy resolution with firm inclination" וּמַחֲשַׁבַת קֹדֶשׁ בִּיֵּצֶר סֶמֶךְ (I QS iv,4-5).¹⁷⁹ Likewise, "For it is Thou hast formed the inc(lination of Thy servant)" אַתָּה יִצְרָתָהּ (... כֹּהֵם עֲרֻכָּהּ)(I QH x,22).¹⁸⁰

The concept of the יֵצֶר can be traced back into the Old Testament¹⁸¹ as well as to intertestamental sources.¹⁸²

But, in the context of Qumran, the concept of good and evil inclination (or imagination) is associated with their deterministic and dualistic ideas. In an earlier portion of this chapter, reference was made to the 'lot of God' גֹּרֶל אֵל¹⁸³ and to the 'lot of Belial' גֹּרֶל בְּלִיעַל.¹⁸⁴

The related expressions of the 'lot of the spirits of the Angel of Darkness'

¹⁷⁷ I QH xv,13-14.

¹⁷⁸ Dupont-Sommer, Loc. cit.

232. Compare CD ii,16.

¹⁷⁹ Dupont-Sommer, Loc. cit.

79.

¹⁸⁰ Dupont-Sommer, Loc. cit.

235.

¹⁸¹ Cf. Gen. vi,5; viii,21; I Chron. xxviii,9; xxix,18; Deut. xxxi,21.

¹⁸²

Testament of Judah xx,1-3 "Know therefore, my children that two spirits, the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit, wait upon man...; and the works of truth and the works of deceit are written upon the hearts of men, and each one of them the Lord knoweth"

¹⁸³

I QS i,10; ii,2; CD xx,4; I QM i,3,5,13,15; xiii,5; xv,1; xvii,7.

¹⁸⁴

I QS ii,5,17; iii,24; I QM i,5,13; xiii,2,4; xviii,1,3.

(I QS iii,21,24), the 'lot of Perversity' בגורל עול (I QS iv,24), the 'lot of righteousness' בגורל קדושים (I QH xi,7),¹⁸⁵ the 'lot of the sons of darkness' בגורל בני חושך (I QM i,1),¹⁸⁶ the 'lot of light' בגורל אמתנה (I QM xiii,9); and, the 'lot of Thy truth' בגורל אמתנה (I QM xiii,12) are all designations of the people according to their 'lot' or 'destiny'. And the element of determinism is very pronounced in the use of this word גורל.

The concept of 'destiny' is closely associated with their dread of the final judgment, "But (when the time) of inquisition (comes), He will determine the fate of every living being (...) פיל גורלות לכול חי" in accordance with which of the two spirits he has chosen to follow " (I QS iv,26).¹⁸⁷ In the following passage from the Psalms it is seen that the man who was permitted by God to enter the 'everlasting assembly' was granted this place because God determined his destiny,

And I knew there was hope for him
whom Thou hast shaped from the
dust for the everlasting assembly.
Thou hast cleansed the perverse
spirit from great sin that he might
watch with the army of the saints
and enter into communion with the
congregation of the Sons of heaven.

And Thou hast cast an everlasting
destiny for man ותפל לאיש
גורל עולם עם
In the company of the Spirits of
knowledge, that he might praise
Thy name in joyful concord and
recount Thy marvels before all
Thy works.¹⁸⁸

Even the place or rank of each of the members of the community was thought by them to have been fixed by God as a thing destined for each individual. "No man shall go down from the place he must occupy, nor raise himself above the place to which his lot assigns him" ולוא ירום ממקום גורלו (I QS ii,23).¹⁸⁹

Deterministic sentiments centering around the concept of 'fate'

¹⁸⁵ I QH xi,11.

Sommer, Loc. cit. 209.
¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ I QM i,11; xiii,5.

Cf. I QS v,20-24; CD xiii,12;
Sa i,9,16,20.

¹⁸⁷ Gaster. Loc. cit. 51.

¹⁸⁸ I QS iii,20-23; Dupont-

occur also in certain fragments of the Scrolls, "Thou hast shaped that clay on the wheel and passed it through Thy test, that it may find its way into Thy lot..."¹⁹⁰ A passage from the fragmentary text recovered from Cave Four, known as "The Epochs of Time", reaffirms two of the great tenets of the sect, as suggested by Gaster,

(a) that the history of mankind is disposed by God in a series of preordained epochs, and (b) that the cardinal events of each epoch are brought about by angels whose activities were determined by God before He created them.¹⁹¹

The first portion of the fragment treats with the idea that before God created the Angels He determined what they were to do; then, there are passages relating to certain Biblical narratives, followed by the passage which relates to the concept of the 'lot of man',

Howbeit, in accordance with the tender mercy of GOD, in accordance with His goodness and with the wondrous manifestation of His glory, He has (always) granted it to some of the earth-born to gain admittance to the Congregation of the Holy, to be reckoned among the community of angelic beings who are with Him, to have station there for life everlasting and to be in one lot with His (celestial) Holy Ones. A(11 men are punished (?) or mar)ked out for distinction according to the lot which (God) has assigned for each, (some for eternal shame and contempt, and some) for life everlasting.¹⁹²

It is clear that, in the thinking of the people of Qumran, men either had their portion in the 'lot of the council of God', אִישׁ כְּגִוְרָלוֹ בַּעֲצַת אֵל, (I QS i,10)¹⁹³ or else their portion was with the 'lot of those who were eternally cursed', יֵתָן גִּוְרָלוֹ בְּתוֹךְ אֲרוּרֵי עוֹלָמִים, (I QS ii,17).¹⁹⁴

On the other hand, it should not be concluded that Qumran thought left the eternal destiny of men up to something as capricious as the casting of a lot. For, in their view, God is a 'God of Knowledge', and as such, the destiny of each of His creatures is a part of His eternal devising— His divine plan for the whole of the cosmos. For instance,

¹⁹⁰ Frag. II,9. Gaster, Loc. cit. 211.

¹⁹¹ Gaster, Loc. cit. 519.

¹⁹² Gaster, Loc. cit. 523.

¹⁹³ I QS ii,22-23.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. CD xx,4,6.

in the Psalms it is written:

For Thou, O God, despisest every thought of Belial כל מחשבת בליעל ; it is Thy counsel that shall remain
And it is the thought of Thy heart that shall stand fast for ever ומחשבת לבכה תכון לנצח.¹⁹⁵

This introduces the Qumran idea that God had a plan, a design, in all of the occurrences in the universe. It was written in the Prologue of the Manual of Discipline, "Before things came into existence He (God) determined the plan of them הכין כול מחשבתו ; and when they fill their appointed roles, it is in accordance with His glorious design כמחשבת כבודו that they discharge their functions."¹⁹⁶ Likewise, "Only through His knowledge have all things come to be, and all that is, is ordained by His thought במחשבתו יכינו" (I QS xi,11);¹⁹⁷ and again, "Thou it is that hast taught all knowledge, and all things exist by Thy will; and there is none beside Thee to controvert thy plan על עצתכה ולהשכיל none to understand all Thy holy thought" בכול מחשבת קודשכה (I QH ii, 19).¹⁹⁸ The sentiments are repeated in the Psalms, "For I know that Thy mouth is truth, and in Thy hand is bounty, and in Thy thought all knowledge ובמחשבתכה כול דעה I QH xi,7);¹⁹⁹ and, finally, "(Behold it was in Thy counsel to) do wonders and in Thy thought to manifest Thy might" להגביל ובמחשבתכה (I QH xviii,22).²⁰⁰

It is clear from these passages that the existence and conduct of God's creatures was thought to have been definitely devised or planned for them even before they were created; and, that their destiny was all a part of this 'thought' or 'plan' in the mind of God. But, there are other aspects of the being of God which are involved in this intricate concept.

¹⁹⁵
I QH iv,12-13. Dupont-Sommer, Loc. cit. 212. Cf. I QH iv,14, 19.

¹⁹⁶
I QS iii,15-16. Gaster, Loc. cit. 48.

¹⁹⁷
Gaster, Loc. cit. 142.

¹⁹⁸
Gaster, Loc. cit. 142.

¹⁹⁹
Gaster, Loc. cit. 187.

²⁰⁰
Dupont-Sommer, Loc. cit. 253.

For, the 'will' or 'good pleasure' רצון of God in the creation of the whole cosmos is also involved in the deterministic ideas of Qumran.

In setting forth the rules for the members of the community, it is specifically mentioned in the Manual of Discipline that they were to "turn away from all evil and to adhere to all that God in His good pleasure (will) has commanded" אשר צוה לרצונו (I QS v,1). Those admitted to membership into the community were to "seek His will" ונורשי רצונו (I QS v,9)...; and they were to "walk in His will" ולתהלך ברצונו (I QS v,10). The mentality of the people of Qumran was that of total submission to the 'will of God'.²⁰¹ It was written, "Without Thy will is nothing wrought ובלי רצונכה לוא יעשה כול Thou it is that hast taught all knowledge, and all things exist by Thy will וכול הנהיה ברצונכה היה (I QS xi,17,18).²⁰²

Passages from the Psalms particularly emphasize the part of the 'will of God' in the affairs of man and of all of the Cosmos. "...for (without Thee) nothing is made and nothing is known without Thy will" ולא יודע כלוא רצונכה (I QH i,8). "It is Thou who hast spread out the heavens for Thy glory (and) hast created all (their hosts) according to Thy will" כול (ו) חתה לרצונכה (I QH i,10).²⁰³ God's pardoning mercies are obtained by all "the sons who do Thy good pleasure" ורחמיכה לכול בני רצונכה (I QH xi,9). The Qumran Psalmist confessed that "it is by Thy will (...) ברצונכה בא that (I have) entered (Thy Covenant) and (received) Thy Holy (Spi)rit" (I QH xiv,13).²⁰⁴ By comparison there is mention made of the greatness of the sin of those who 'did their

²⁰¹ CD iii,15.

²⁰² I QH x,2,9.

²⁰³ I QH i,14-15; v,4; x,6.

²⁰⁴ I QH xvi,10,12,13; xvii,23.

own will,²⁰⁵ and abandoned the Covenant of God. The latter idea does pose a question concerning the true extent of the determinism of Qumran. That is, if it is by the 'will of God' that events in the lives of human beings occur; then, how is it that some men change their minds and leave the Covenant of God? The antithesis between those who decided to enter into the community²⁰⁶ and those who, having once entered the community, decide to 'turn back from God'²⁰⁷ is very decided. Because, for those who 'enter into the Covenant' the Priests were to pronounce great blessings (I QS ii,1-4). They are spoken of as all those who 'hold fast (the Covenant) of the Fathers', כול אחוזי אבות, (I QS ii,9)²⁰⁸ and as such, they were not to even speak a greeting of peace to those who 'turned away'. By contrast, the curses (I QS ii,12-18) were pronounced in a special sense upon those who having 'once passed into the Covenant', because of their idols, or whatever else, may have 'turned away from God', בהסוּגוּ מאחרי אל (I QS ii,16-17).²⁰⁹ Even a single serious cleavage from the way of the community was a matter of concern for the whole community, and the culprit was placed under a punishment lasting for two years (I QS vii,18-25); there being lesser punishment for lesser crimes (I QS vii,1-18). The thing of significance with reference to their deterministic notions is that 'apostasy' was a possibility.

Another important consideration in this context is the related concept of the 'chosen' and the 'choosers'. In the first place, it is clear that the members of the community believed that they were the 'Chosen of God', לאשר בחר אל, (I QS xi,7). In this sense, the Sectaries viewed themselves as standing in a completely antithetical position to all others.

²⁰⁵ CD iii,11-12. Note also the reference to Abraham, CD iii,2.

²⁰⁶ I QS i,16,17,20,24; ii,10; v,7,8,20; vi,13ff.; Cf. I QS vii,18-21; viii,16-19,21. CD xiii,11-13; xv,7; I QH xiv,18,20-22; I Q 14,8-10, 7.

²⁰⁷ I QS ii,24.

²⁰⁸ I QS v,1. Dupont-Sommer, Loc. cit. 75.

²⁰⁹ I QS ii,12; viii,12, CD xix, 15.

Members of the community were admonished to 'love all that He has chosen', בחר כל אשר בחר ולאהוב כול אשר בחר (I QS i,3-4). The idea being that the members of the community were to love all of the other members of the community in-as-much as God has chosen them. This idea of God having chosen the members of the community is reinforced in several passages in the Scrolls, "For God has chosen them for an everlasting Covenant" כִּיָּא כִּם בַּחֲרַ אֵל לְבָרִית (I QS iv,22).²¹⁰ By contrast, mention is made of men who were 'not chosen of God' כִּי לֹא בַחֲרַ אֵל בָּהֶם.²¹¹ There can be little doubt that the members of the community considered that they were chosen and destined by God to be men of holiness from before their birth, even as evil men who walked in the ways of darkness were destined to be such from before their birth.²¹² These ideas are suggestive of an almost absolute determinism, viewed by themselves.

However, as mentioned in a preceding section, men did choose to depart from the community and walk no more in the paths which God had chosen. And, again, with reference to the concept of the 'chosen' and the 'choosers' there are a few sentiments expressed in the Scrolls which tend to diminish the absoluteness of the determinism of the community; at least, this is so when viewed from our present perspective, in the light of our present knowledge of the community.

One of the important passages in this connection speaks of those who have 'chosen the way' לבוחרֵי דרך (I QS ix,17). In another passage, after the author has extolled the attributes of God, he has written, "I will choose whatever He teaches me" הַבְּחַרְתִּי בְּאִשֶּׁר יִוְרֵנִי (I QS x,12). Also, in the Damascus Documents there are passages which suggest the importance of men making the right 'choice'. In one instance, the 'Sons' were admonished to "choose what He (God) desires" וּלְבַחֲרֹר אֵת אֲשֶׁר רָצָה

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Dupont-Sommer, Loc. cit.

82. Cf. I QM x,9; I QH xv,23; xvi,

12; I Q Sb I,2; III,22-23.

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CD ii,7-8. I QH xv,15ff.

and to reject that which He hates" ולמאוס כאשר שנא (CD ii,15). The angels of heaven who fell because of the 'stubbornness of their heart' בלכתם בשרירות לבם (CD ii,18);²¹³ the giants (CD ii,19)²¹⁴ and the sinful inhabitants of the world at the time of the universal flood were punished or destroyed because they 'did their own will' בעשותם את רצונם 'and did not keep the commandments of their maker' ולא שמרו את מצות עשיהם (CD ii,21). It is likewise mentioned that the sons of Noah and their families 'went astray because of this' בה תעו בני נח (CD iii, 1). Abraham, by comparison, kept the commandments of God, בשמרו מצות אל ולא בחר ברצונו and "did not choose the will of his own spirit" דלותו (CD iii,2-3). In each of these instances, it would seem that the choice of the beings involved was consequential in determining the destiny of those very beings. After further discussion of the sons of Jacob, and their sons in Egypt, the apostasy of Israel in the desert, and at Kadesh...their sons perished, kings were cut off, heroes perished and the land was ravaged (CD iii,4-10), the author suggests that "because they had abandoned the Covenant of God, and because they had chosen their own will, ויבחרו ברצונם...they were delivered up to the sword" (CD iii, 11). A passage from the Psalms illustrates the concept of the 'chooser', "Therefore have I chosen ואני בחרתי להבך כפי to keep my hands unstained, according to Thy will" (I QH xvi,10).²¹⁵

These passages do not set up a clear concept of self-determination in Qumran literature. But, they do indicate that the possibility of the individual choice being a factor in determining human behaviour and consequently of affecting ultimate human destiny cannot be wholly precluded. It may be problematic to correctly assess the extent to which these ideas

²¹³ Cf. CD viii,19.

²¹⁵ Gaster, Loc. cit. 202.

²¹⁴ An allusion to Gen. vi,4.
Cf. also the Book of Enoch XIV,6.

that man can, through his own choice, alter his behaviour and ultimate destiny may have represented the main stream of thought in Qumran. Certain modern authors have ventured to give such opinions. James L. Price has commented, "It is unlikely that the Qumran sect wholly rejected belief in man's freedom, or in the necessity for his making genuine ethical decisions."²¹⁶ He further commented,

Given the unsystematic way in which doctrine is expressed in the *Hodayoth*, it is not surprising to find in these hymns a logically inconsistent juxtaposition of determinism and freedom.²¹⁷

Along with P. Hyatt²¹⁸ and J. Van der Ploeg²¹⁹ Price concurs that "Neither in theory nor in practise were the men at Qumran 'wholly deterministic or wholly voluntaristic'."²²⁰

There are, however, certain notions expressed in the Scrolls which give a unique quality to their deterministic expressions. One of these centers around their references to the idea of things being 'decreed' and 'engraven'...like an 'engraven decree'. For instance, it was written, "for all the seasons of God come to pass at their appointed time according to His decree חֲקֵק לָהֶם בְּרִזִּי עֲרֻמָּתוֹ concerning them in the Mysteries of His Providence" (I Q p Hab vii,13).²²¹ The idea is further mentioned in these words, "I will sing the Decree with the Seasons עִם קְצִים אֲשֶׁר חֲקֵקָא (I QS x,1). There is mention of the "Decree that is graven forever" כְּחֹק חֲרוּת לְעַד (I QS x,6-8); and, of the "Decree of Time" וְאֵת חֹק הַעֵת (I QS ix,14). In the *Psalms* it is written, "The world is graven before thee חֲכֹל חֲקֹק לִפְנֵיכָה with the graving tool of the reminder for all the unending seasons together with the cycles of the number

²¹⁶

James L. Price, "Light from Qumran upon Some Aspects of Johannine Theology", being Chapter 2 in *John and Qumran*, Edited by J. H. Charlesworth, p. 16.

²¹⁷

Ibid.

²¹⁸

P. Hyatt, "The View of Man

in the Qumran 'Hodayoth'," NTS 2 (1955-56) 203.

²¹⁹

J. Van der Ploeg, *The Excavations at Qumran*, Trans. K. Smyth (London, New York, Toronto, 1958) 112 ff.

²²⁰

James L. Price, *Loc. cit.* 17.

²²¹

Dupont-Sommer, *Loc. cit.* 263.

of everlasting years with all their times" (I QH i,23-24).²²² Dupont-Sommer suggests that this is, "An allusion to the heavenly tablets on which the destiny of the whole world is written; cf. the expression 'the graven Decree', in the Rule (X,8)."²²³ With reference to the passage in column X of the Rule he wrote,

The 'Decree' —or as it appears below, 'the Decree that is graven for ever' (line 6), 'the graven Decree (line 8) -- is here 'the Decree of Time' (cf. ix,14), the divine Law regulating the order of the world and the harmonious succession of the seasons. The 'Decree' is 'graven' — an allusion to the divine tables on which all destiny and all the appointed times are inscribed: they are frequently mentioned in Jubilees and Enoch. This conception of cosmic Law is in the same category as that of Inevitability, Destiny and Order general among the Gnostics of the Hellenistic era.²²⁴

Mention of the 'heavenly tablets' is found also in The Rout of Belial, where it says,

...The several epochs which are to be completed, (the names of their leading men (lit. fathers), (the number of) their years and the periods of their office, (together with their)...and language, are all spelled out, man for man...; (and) behold, (the names of their) progeny are all inscribed on the (heavenly) tablets which God (communicated to)...²²⁵

Another mention of the 'heavenly tablets' is found in the fragment known as The Epochs of Time.

As regards God's having set a fixed epoch for the (occurrence of everything past) and future, (the fact is that) before He created (the angels) He determined what (they) were to do (in their several epochs), epoch by epoch. Moreover, this was engraved on (heavenly) tablets (and duly prescribed) for the respective epochs in which they were to bear rule.²²⁶

In the frame of reference of their mystical view of the cosmos the Qumran community related this concept of things being decreed or engraven by God to the daily cycle of the sun (I QH xii,4-8), to the seasons (I QH xii,9-10; CD ii,9-10) and to the destiny of all men. These notions gave

²²² Dupont-Sommer, Loc. cit.
203.

²²³ Dupont-Sommer, Ibid., footnote 2.

²²⁴ Dupont-Sommer, Loc. cit. 97.

²²⁵ Gaster, Loc. cit. 424. Cf. Enoch 63.1; 81.1-2; 103.2; 106.19; 107.1.

²²⁶ Gaster, Loc. cit. 522.

a certain unique dimension to the deterministic concepts of Qumran.

In any effort to understand the deterministic thought of Qumran, particular attention must be given to their views of the creation of man and of the whole of the cosmos by God. It is written, "It is He who made man", וְהוֹאָה בְּרָא אֱנוֹשׁ, (I QS iii,17).²²⁷ Another very significant declaration concerns the "Two Spirits", "Truly the Spirits of light and darkness were made by Him...", וְהוֹאָה בְּרָא רוּחֹת אֹר וְחֹשֶׁךְ, (I QS iii, 25).²²⁸ In the War Scroll it is written,

(It is Thou, O God who hast created) the expanse of the heavens, the host of the heavenly lights and the office of the spirits and the empire of the saints.

the glorious reservoirs (of water and) clouds.

(It is Thou) who hast created the earth הַכּוֹרָא אֶרֶץ and the laws of its divisions into desert and pleasant land, and all it produces, with (its) fruit(s and seeds (?).), the globe of the seas and the reservoirs of the rivers and the chasms of the deeps, Animals and winged beings, the shape of man and the gener(ations issued from) his (seed) (?)...²²⁹

The ideas of the association of God's creative act with all that exists or occurs in nature and in human affairs are also set forth in the Psalms (I QH i,7-20). Certain ideas in this passage are important to the understanding of their deterministic concepts: That God has created the whole of the universe, nature, man, and the immortal Spirits is clearly taught. Line 7, וּבְשֵׁרִים בְּרֵאתָם; line 13, אַתָּה בְּרֵאתָה אֶרֶץ; and, line 27, אַתָּה בְּרֵאתָה רִנָּה בְּלִשְׁוֹן, all indicate that God is the Creator of all. It is the cognate ideas associated with the Creative act of God which are so pertinent to the understanding of their determinism. Line 7 states that "before ever creating them Thou knewest all the works, יָדַעְתָּה מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם, which creatures would accomplish." Hence, the association of God's eternal foreknowledge with His Creative acts. Line 9 states that it was God

²²⁷ Dupont-Sommer, Loc. cit.

78.

²²⁸ Dupont-Sommer, Loc. cit.

79.

²²⁹ Dupont-Sommer, Loc. cit.

185.

who "formed every spirit..." יִצְרָתָה כּוֹל רוּחַ וְ. The formation of these spirits included establishing their ways and the roll for all their works (line 9). Likewise, the operation of the 'two Spirits' within man was ('assigned' or 'ordained') for them by God (line 16-17). The statements in lines 19-20 are suggestive of the sentiments expressed in the Prologue of the Manual of Discipline with particular reference to the deterministic and dualistic ideas:

Thou hast (man's spirit) and duly assigned its role
for all his offspring throughout the generations of time;
and (Thou hast) it for all the years of eternity.
And in Thy knowing wisdom Thou hast ordained its fate,
or ever it came into being.
By (Thy will all things exist, and without Thee
is nothing wrought (I QH i,19-20).²³⁰

The sentiments in lines 27-28 relative to the words of man suggest that God "hast known all the words of man's tongue and determined the fruit of his lips, ere those lips themselves had being. It is Thou that disposeth all words in due sequence and giveth to the spirit of the lips ordered mode of expression" (I QH i,27-28).²³¹ Dupont-Sommer comments:

God knew words and determined their meaning even before there were any men to speak them. In the same way, He established in advance, and before the creation of the world, 'the whole plan', i.e. all the laws and ideas of being (cf. above, lines 20-21, and Rule III,15). This doctrine of the pre-existence of the idea and the word calls to mind Greek philosophy and Philo.²³²

Other passages in the Psalms reflect the association of the dualistic and deterministic ideas of Qumran with their concept of the Creation.

Behold, Thou art Prince of the gods and King of the venerated beings, and Lord of every spirit and Master of all creatures.
and without thee nothing is made, וּמִבְלַעֲדִיכָה לֹא יֵעֲשֶׂה כּוֹל,
and nothing is known without Thy will, וְלֹא יִדְוֹעַ בְּלֹא רְצוֹנְכָה,
Expect for Thyself, nothing exists, וְאֵין זֹלַתְךָ,

.....
It is for Thy glory alone כֵּן לְכַבֹּדְכָה

230

Gaster, Loc. cit. 146.

231

Gaster, Loc. cit. 146-147.

232

Dupont-Sommer, Loc. cit. 204,
footnote 1.

that Thou hast created all these things"

עשיתה כול אלה

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The concept that God has created 'all these things' evidently resulted in a certain degree of mental distress for the inhabitants of Qumran, when they attempted to relate their dualistic notions to this most important pillar of their theology. Hence it is that they struggled to reconcile their various concepts. It is written in the War Scroll,

And Thou didst create Belial for the Pit, וואתה עשיתה בליעל לשחת,
the Angel of hostility and repudiation מלאך משסמה ובחושך
(together with) his (plan) and with his design
that wicked deeds and sins might be committed;
and all the spirits of his lot are angels of destruction, וכול רוחי
they walk in decrees of darkness גורלו מלאכי חבל
and their (de)sire tends towards darkness in one movement.²³⁴

Thus, even though the men of Qumran envisioned the whole of the cosmos as being engaged in a cosmological-ethical struggle of a dualistic nature; still, they were obliged to reconcile these dualistic ideas with their absolutely monotheistic ideas which attributed the creation of all things (with their individual design and behaviour) to God. In fact, their difficulties were no less when they pondered the nature of man and his origins; for it is written, "(the wor)ld (which) Thou hast made belongs not to man. For it is Thou who created the just and the wicked (...)" אתה בראתה צדיק ורשע (I QH 4,38).²³⁵ Another passage teaches the same idea, "Thou alone hast (created) the just צדיק תה (ברא) and established him from his mother's womb unto the time of good-will" (I QH xv,14-15).²³⁶ The same passage continues, "...whereas Thou hast created the wicked (for the time of) Thy (wr)ath (...) ל בראתה ורשעים and hast set them apart from their mother's womb for the Day of Massacre" (I QH xv,17).²³⁷ Line 19 also suggests that the wicked were created for the

²³³

I QH x, extracts from lines 8-12. Cf. Dupont-Sommer, Loc. cit. 234.

²³⁴

I QM xiii,11-12. Dupont-Sommer, Loc. cit. 189.

²³⁵

Dupont-Sommer, Loc. cit. 214.

²³⁶

Dupont-Sommer, Loc. cit. 246.

²³⁷

Dupont-Sommer, Ibid.

execution of great judgments against them" בם שפטים גדולים.²³⁸

It will be recalled that in the passage from The Epochs of Time, earlier quoted, it specifically mentions that God created the angels²³⁹ and that, with reference to men and angels, "Before He created them, He knew (their) designs".²⁴⁰ The sovereignty of God and His Creatorship over all of nature is repeated throughout the writings, as in the War Scroll:

(It is Thou, O God, who hast created) the expanse of the heavens,
the host of the heavenly lights and the office of the spirits and
the empire of the saints,
the glorious reservoirs (of water and) clouds.
(It is Thou) who hast created the earth הכורא ארץ and the laws
of its divisions...²⁴¹

All of which appears to be a reiteration of the basic declarations of the Prologue of the Manual of Discipline.

From the God of Knowledge, מאל הדעות, comes all that is and shall be, כול הווה ובהייה and before (beings) were היותם ולפני he established all their design הכין כול מחשבתם.

And when they are ובהיותם they fulfill their task according to their statutes, לתעודותם כמחשבת
In accordance with their glorious design, כבורו ימלאו פעולתם
changing nothing within it ואין להשנות.

In his hand בידו are the laws of all (beings) כול והואה and He upholds them all in their needs. יכלכלם בכול חפציהם
It is He who made man והואה ברא אנוש
that he might rule over the earth לממשלת תבל.²⁴²

When the basic declaration that "He created the Spirits of light and darkness" והואה ברא רוחות אור וחושך (I QS iii,25), with all that this implies, is considered together with all of the other declarations of the Qumran Scrolls concerning the Creation of 'all these things', it shows that the authors were attempting, in their own way, to relate

²³⁸

I QH xv,19.

²³⁹

The Epochs of Time, I, Gaster, Loc. cit. 522.

²⁴⁰

Ibid. II, 524. Compare The New Covenant, Col. 1, "...for this it is for which thou hast created us."

Gaster, Loc. cit. 437.

²⁴¹

I QM x,11-12ff. to line 16. Dupont-Sommer, Loc. cit. 185.

²⁴²

Dupont-Sommer, Loc. cit. 78.

their dualistic cosmological-ethical concepts to their basic theological monotheism. By expressing their deterministic ideas they may have felt that they had formulated a suitable resolution for their dilemma. James L. Price has suggested:

The dualism of Qumran was certainly not an absolute dualism, either in the sense of affirming a limitless coexistence and coequality of good and evil beings or forces, or of spirit and matter. Belief in "the God of Israel" as Creator led the sectaries to espouse a "modified dualism", or perhaps one would say a qualified or relative system.²⁴³

In attempting to essay the true nature of the determinism of the Qumran sectaries, opinions have varied. H. Ringgren has suggested that the deterministic view of history in the Scrolls is paralleled by their belief that God's predestination orders the whole universe.²⁴⁴ J. Licht²⁴⁵ and M. Mansoor²⁴⁶ among others, have concluded that the men of Qumran accepted an absolute determinism. J. Charlesworth, in developing his 'seven salient features',²⁴⁷ as a summation of the dualism and determinism of the Qumran Scrolls, refers specifically to their determinism in his Fourth and Fifth points:

Fourth, conjoined with this ethical dualism is a belief in an absolute determinism. Fifth, although the author attempted to solve the problem of evil by positing an evil spirit, God becomes ultimately responsible because of the author's monotheistic and predestinarian belief.²⁴⁸

The two elements of Qumran thought which seem to mitigate against an absolute determinism are their soteriology which allows that men have

²⁴³ James L. Price, "Light from Qumran upon some aspects of Johannine Theology", being chapter II of John and Qumran, edited by James H. Charlesworth, p. 15.

²⁴⁴ H. Ringgren, The Faith of Qumran (Philadelphia, 1963) 58ff. He refers to CD i,3f. and I QM xi,1ff.

²⁴⁵ J. Licht, IEJ 6 (1956) 5ff. especially 9.

²⁴⁶

H. Mansoor, The Thanksgiving

Hymns (STDJ 3; Leiden, Grand Rapids, 1961) 55f.

²⁴⁷

James H. Charlesworth, Loc. cit. 88.

²⁴⁸

Charlesworth, Ibid., 110, sees monotheism as dominating all of the Scrolls as in I QH i,1-20; CD ii,1-13 and I QM i,8-14. He notes, "That the first characteristic feature of Qumran dualism is that it is limited in power, extent and time."

the power to 'choose', to 'confess' and 'repent',²⁴⁹ —to 'enter into the community' and to 'turn away from the congregation and walk in paths of darkness',²⁵⁰ and, their eschatology, which, along with an emphasis upon the 'final judgment', also taught that there was to be a cessation to the existence of Belial and of the 'sons of darkness'. Leaney has written concerning the effort of the Qumran sect to relate their dualism to their determinism:

Inconsistent with this dualism but dependent on the fundamental belief that man is a creature of God who is the creator of all, there is found at the same time the belief that God created both the warring spirits in man...Inconsistent it may be; it is certainly inevitable, since it reflects the unsolved problem for all theism, the presence of evil, which seems to negate God, in a universe where he is held to reign supreme.²⁵¹

Driver has commented, "The determinism of the Scrolls, then, is incomplete; it is not pushed to its logical conclusion."²⁵² Writing more on the problem he has written:

Allowance must also be made, in estimating the doctrine of the Covenanters on the subject of determinism, for the Hebrew habit of speaking of the result of an action as its purpose...the emphasis also on repentance and the readmission of lapsed members mitigates the harshness of the doctrine and to this extent leaves open the possibility of free will.²⁵³

If, from the present point of reference, inconsistencies are noted in the sentiments of the Qumran sectaries, the suggestion of William S. LaSor may be helpful:

Perhaps we should remember that we are not dealing with professional theologians or philosophers in the Qumran writers...They were grappling with a deep problem at approximately a popular level, it seems to me, and we should no more expect to find a neat solution to the problem of QL than we would find in the average minister's sermons. For that matter, the Bible itself seems to maintain a paradox with reference to determinism and free will.²⁵⁴

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I QS i,25.

²⁵⁰

Price, *Loc. cit.* 17, sees in the Hodoyoth a "logically inconsistent juxtaposition of determinism and freedom."

²⁵¹

Leaney, *Loc. cit.* 44.

²⁵²

Driver, *Loc. cit.* 559.

²⁵³

Driver, *Ibid.* 560-561.

²⁵⁴

William S. LaSor, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Christian Faith, 110-111.

With respect to what appears from our present vantage point to be apparent inconsistencies between the 'quasi-dualism' of Qumran and their fundamental monotheism, it may be well to view their sentiments in the light of other Jewish literature of the epoch. It was early discovered that the Caves of Qumran contained fragments of the various books of the 'Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha'. Charles, in his assessment of these writings, has shown that certain of these non-canonical books were deterministic in their sentiments,²⁵⁵ others were freewill in their sentiments,²⁵⁶ while still others were both deterministic and freewill in the ideas they expressed.²⁵⁷ His comments with reference to I Maccabees are particularly helpful:

...the book is likewise marked by special characteristics; these are to be explained partly by the writer's sober and matter-of-fact way of looking at things, and partly by the somewhat altered religious outlook of the age as compared with earlier times. The most striking characteristics here are (i) that the divine intervention in the nation's affairs is not nearly so prominently expressed as in the books of the Old Testament; and (ii) that God is not mentioned by name in the whole book...his (the author's) attitude was, doubtless, also due to the influence of certain tendencies which were beginning to assert themselves...there arose also a disinclination to ascribe action among men directly to God, because of His inexpressible majesty. One result of this was the further tendency to emphasize and extend the scope of human free-will...²⁵⁸

It was the spirit of the times. Like other mid-eastern lands, Palestine was subjected to the impact of changing world philosophies and religious concepts. The Qumran community, though isolated, was no exception. Their ideas undoubtedly reflect some of these changes. And the discovery of their Scrolls has further extended our knowledge of the times. It remains now to compare their deterministic and dualistic ideas with certain utterances in John's First Epistle in the New Testament.

²⁵⁵ Charles mentions III Maccabees. Vol. I, p. 163 and IV Ezra. Vol. II, pp. 554-555.

²⁵⁶ Cf. I Maccabees. R. C. Charles, Vol. I, pp. 60-61; and, II Baruch Vol. 2, pp. 477-478.

²⁵⁷ Ben-Sira is a classic example as shown in the Book of Sirach. Charles, Vol. I, pp. 311-313. Cf. Also the Book of Jubilees; Charles, II, pp. 8-9.

²⁵⁸ R. C. Charles, Vol. II, pp. 60-61.

With reference to Qumran determinism, possibly no other ritual of the community reflected their sentiments more than their ritualistic purification by water (opinions differ as to whether these lustrations ought to be called a 'baptism').²⁵⁹ The members of the community immersed themselves daily, in the morning, before eating their meal²⁶⁰ which, itself, because participation in the meal was limited exclusively to members of the community, also reflected their deterministic concepts. There was also a yearly lustration²⁶¹ which was probably held at the time of the annual examination of each of the members of the community (I QS ii,19); at which time, also, new members were admitted to the group (I QS i,16). Comparisons have been made between the water lustrations at Qumran and the baptism of John the Baptist, of Jesus Christ, of the early Christians and of other Jewish baptism rites.²⁶² In each of these instances, there are similarities as well as differences. In particular, when the 'washings' at Qumran are compared with Christian baptism, quite apart from other considerations, it is seen that while the Christian ritual is initiatory, the Qumran ritual was probably not initiatory.²⁶³ The rites of Qumran were essentially purificatory and

²⁵⁹ W. S. LaSor, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament, 150, has written, "...it is questionable whether the term 'baptism' should be used for the ritual of water purification either at Qumran or among the Essenes." Cf. H. H. Rowley, "The Qumran Sect and Christian Origins," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 44 (1961-62), 141.

²⁶⁰ I QS vi,16-17, 20-21; vii, 3,10-20; viii,17-18, 24-25 and CD ix,21-23.

²⁶¹ I QS iii,4-12; v,13-14; CD x,10ff; xi,1,22.

²⁶² Numerous opinions have been expressed. H. H. Rowley, "The Qumran Sect and Christian Origins," art. cit.,

pp. 140-143; also, "The Baptism of John and the Qumran Sect," in New Testament Essays; Studies in Memory of T. W. Manson (Manchester University Press 1959), 218-229. J. A. T. Robinson, "The Baptism of John and the Qumran Community", HTR 50 (1957) 175-91. R. E. Brown, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and The New Testament," ExpT 78 (1966-67) 19-23.

²⁶³ W. S. LaSor, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Christian Faith, 80, has written, "In Qumran the ritual cleansing was repeated, perhaps annually, and was not initiatory."

repetitious.

What is pertinent to this study is that in the Qumran community only the 'elect' or 'upright men'; i.e. those who had entered into the 'community of Truth' were allowed to participate in the ritual washings for cleansing (I QS ii,24-iii,12). And, these men stood in stark contrast to all others who were regarded as impure; and, with whom the members of the community could not have any association or communion. This study has attempted to show that these members of the community were 'chosen', 'destined' and 'pre-determined' by God to be members of this elect community. Hence it is the significance of their lustrations in which their deterministic notions are expressed. Their immersion in the waters was restricted to those who were 'destined' by God for membership in the community; thus, the washing was a daily ritual reaffirmation that they were the 'sons of God', 'sons of the Covenant', --the 'elect of God', predestined from the womb to be under the 'dominion' of the 'Spirit of Light, or Truth'.

Even as participation in the Qumran community found expression in their water rituals; so, it is obvious that in the First Epistle of John the author considered that Baptism was fundamental with regard to the participation of the Christian believers who had either already been baptized or were about to be baptized. This is not explicitly proclaimed by the author of the epistle, in-as-much as there is no direct mention of baptism in the epistle. But, it is clearly indicated by the several pictures employed; such as light, cleansing, confession, spirit, anointing, teaching (including the spirit of truth and that of the lie), adoption to become children, and the water and blood.²⁶⁴

As the water rites of Qumran reflected, to a certain extent, their deterministic views, it now remains to examine the First Epistle of John

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Bo Reicke, in a hand-written paragraph has suggested all of these allusions to baptism in John's first epistle. The ideas were addressed to the author of this thesis.

to see whether the several parallelisms found in this epistle also reflects a form of dualism and of determinism. Does Baptism, to which First John makes so many allusions, signify a similar determinism in the mind of the author of that epistle? Or, might the introduction of the ἀγάπη concept give a different usage to the various figures and pictures which are employed? Attention will now be given to a comparison of the First Epistle of John with the Qumran Scrolls with particular reference to determinism.

CHAPTER FOUR

"A CONSIDERATION OF THE FIRST EPISTLE OF JOHN AS COMPARED TO THE QUMRAN SCROLLS WITH REFERENCE TO DETERMINISM"

The discovery of the Scrolls in the caves of Qumran occasioned the comparison of the extant Jewish and Christian religious literature dating from that epoch with the literature of Qumran. Scholars were quick to recognize that there are similarities and parallelisms between the Scrolls and the New Testament writings as well as between the Scrolls and the non-Canonical writings of the period. The First Epistle of John was no exception, as Marie-Emile Boismard has written:

"Of all the writings in the New Testament, the First Epistle of John, along with the Epistle to the Ephesians, presents perhaps the greatest number of theological contacts with the writings from Qumran.¹

Although opinion vary widely as to the exact nature of the relationship of the Scrolls to New Testament literature, it is obvious that those documents concerning the First Epistle of John which have been written after the discovery of the Scrolls represent a 'new departure' in the treatment of the Epistle. Rudolf Schnackenburg has written:

Die Bedeutung der Qumrantexte für die joh. Schriften ist in den letzten Jahren genügend gewürdigt worden, ohne dass man sich über die konkreten "Verwandtschafts"-Beziehungen einigen konnte.²

The passage of time, since the Scrolls were first studied, has seen a consensus emerge among many scholars³ that the Qumran writings and the Johannine writings have many points of similarity; particularly, with reference to a dualistic world-view in which darkness opposes light,

¹ Marie-Emile Boismard, O.P., "The First Epistle of John and the Writings of Qumran", being chapter 6 of John and Qumran, edited by James H. Charlesworth, Geoffrey Chapman, London, 1972, p. 156.

² Rudolph Schnackenburg, Die Johannesbriefe, Vierte Auflage, 1970, p. 27.

³ Cf. R. E. Brown, "The Qumran

Scrolls and the Johannine Gospel and Epistles", in The Scrolls and the New Testament, p. 199; Marie-Emile Boismard, O.P., *op. cit.*, p. 164; W. S. LaSor, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament, 205; J. Allegro, The Dead Sea Scrolls a reappraisal, 1964, pp. 142-43; Jean Danielou, The Dead Sea Scrolls and Primitive Christianity, 1962, pp. 103-110; J. Smit Sibings, "1 joh tegan de achtergrond van de teksten van Qumran", in Vox theolog. 29 (1958-59) pp. 11-14.

and truth opposes iniquity. There are other antitheses as well which, in the case of the Qumran literature, reflected their deterministic notions. It is to be seen if the use of similar antitheses in the First Epistle of John reflects a similar dualism and determinism.

The identification of certain antithetical elements in the First Epistle of John was recognized and commented upon by scholars long before the discovery of the Qumran Scrolls. The comments of J. E. Huther are exemplary:

"The entire development of the argument of the Epistle is based upon the single fundamental conviction of the antagonism subsisting between the "world" and "believers". Whilst the former are under the power and dominion of the devil, the latter are in fellowship with God."⁴

That which is pertinent to this study is not that scholars have suddenly discovered certain antitheses and dualistic sentiments in the First Epistle of John; but, rather, that the discovery of the literature of Qumran has obviated a reappraisal of the sentiments of the Epistle in the light of the similarities and parallelisms which exist between the Scrolls and the Epistle. This chapter will attempt, particularly, to focus these similarities and parallelisms directly upon the question of determinism. Frequent references are to be found in existing works to the determinism of the Qumran Scrolls and to the dualistic ideas in The First Epistle of John.⁵ Few works have attempted to investigate whether the similarities and parallelisms which are noted between the Scrolls and the Epistle would indicate that there is a similar determinism in John's Epistle which was shown to be found in the Scrolls.⁶

⁴ Joh. E. Huther, Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the General Epistles of James, Peter, John and Jude. Meyer's Commentary on the New Testament, 1887, p. 437.

⁵ A selective list of authors who have written concerning determinism might include Dupont-Sommers, op. cit., 52-53; R. E. Brown, op. cit.,

16-17; W. S. LaSor, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Christian Faith, 94-99, 104-114; G. R. Driver, op. cit., 547-48, 550-62, 579; R. Schnackenburg, op. cit., 75-79.

⁶ Cf. O. Böcher, op. cit., pp. 72-127; H. M. Schenke, "Determination und Ethik im ersten Johannesbrief", ZTHK 60 (1963); 302-215.

As was shown earlier, with reference to the literature of Qumran; so, likewise, with the First Epistle of John, there are to be found several antitheses—some of which are nearly identical while others are similar in varying degrees. Light and darkness, truth and falsehood, sin and righteousness, the world and the community, the evil one and the Father, love and hate, life and death, keeping the commandments and lawlessness, the Spirit of God and the spirit of antichrist; these and others are the antitheses used by the author of the Epistle to portray the theological and metaphysical concepts which characterize the Epistle. Consideration will now be given to a selection of those antitheses which relate in a particular sense to the dualism of the Epistle and to the possibility of a deterministic or of a free-will worldview.

The 'light-darkness' antithesis immediately suggests comparison of the Epistle with the Qumran Scrolls.⁷ A similarity is seen between the passage in the Manual of Discipline which speaks of men who "walk in the ways of darkness" (I QS iii,21; Cf. I QS iv,11); and, the clause from The First Epistle of John, "and (we) walk in the darkness καὶ ἐν τῷ σκοτει περιπατῶμεν (I John i,6). A second passage affirms that "he that hateth his brother is in the darkness ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ ἐστὶν and walketh in the darkness καὶ ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ περιπατεῖ (I John ii,11).⁸ The antithesis is likewise found in the description of the "sons of righteousness" who "walk in the ways of light" (I QS iii,20); and, in the conditional clause "But if (we) walk in the light"⁹ ἐὰν δὲ ἐν τῷ φωτὶ

⁷ P. Benoit, O.P., "Qumran and the New Testament", Paul and Qumran, ed. J. Murphy-O'Connor, 1968, 1-30; E. F. Bishop, "Skotos and Skotia in the New Testament", ALUOS 2 (1959-61) 48-53; H. Braun, Qumran und das Neue Testament, 2 vols. (1966) Cf. especially vol. 1, 96-138; vol. 2, 118-144; W. Nauck, Die Tradition und der Charakter des Ersten Johannes-

briefes (QUZNT 3) Tübingen (1957), 165-182.

⁸ Old Testament literature also contains similar figures; Cf. Job xxix,3; Eccl. ii,14; Prov. ii,13; Isaiah ix,2.

⁹ In this connection refer also to the figure employed in I John ii,6.

περιπατῶμεν as he is in the light ὡς αὐτός ἐστιν ἐν τῷ φωτί (I John i,7).¹⁰

It is written in the First Epistle of John, "God is light ὅτι ὁ θεὸς φῶς ἐστιν and in him is no darkness at all" καὶ σκοτία ἐν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐστὶν οὐδεμία (I John i,5). As was earlier shown, the Qumran Scrolls speak of God as a "God of knowledge" (I QS iii,15; I QH i, 26); but, in no passage is there an exact parallel to John's declaration that "God is light". However, it is written that "The one (i.e., the spirit of light) God loves everlastingly..." (I QS iii,25-iv,1). The suggestion of a parallelism in this instance is complicated however by the assertion, "Truly, the Spirits of light and darkness were made by Him" (I QS iii,25); which is an idea for which there is no exact parallel in the First Epistle of John (more will be written about the God-Satan antithesis subsequently with particular reference to the Epistle).

Further, it must be noted that the prevailing determinism associated with the 'light-darkness' antithesis in the Qumran Scrolls¹¹ stands in contrast to the conditionality of the First Epistle of John which finds pointed expression in John's comments about the 'light-darkness' antithesis (I John i,6-7):¹² "If we say that we have fellowship with him ἐὰν εἴπωμεν ὅτι κοινωνίαν ἔχομεν μετ' αὐτοῦ and we walk in the darkness καὶ ἐν τῷ σκότει περιπατῶμεν, we lie ψευδόμεθα and are not doing the truth καὶ οὐ ποιοῦμεν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Similarly, the conditionality relates to 'the light', "But if we walk in the light ἐὰν δὲ ἐν τῷ φωτί περιπατῶμεν as he is in the light

¹⁰ Cf. also the Old Testament figures in Ps. lvi,13; lxxxix,15 and Isa. ii,5.

¹¹ Mention has already been made in Chapter Three of this work of the element of free-willism with reference to the choice made by the individual seeking to enter into the Qumran Community; and, also of the choice made to leave the community; Cf. I QS v,10 and vii,22-23.

¹² Compare the use of the following: εἰ I John ii,19; iii,13; iv, 11; v,9. ἐὰν I John i,6,7,8,9,10; ii,1,3,15,24,29; iii,20,21; iv,12,20; v,14,15,16.

ὥς αὐτός ἐστιν ἐν τῷ φωτί we have fellowship with each other..."

This declaration of the Epistle places the situation of man in sharp contrast to that of God; for, "God is light, and in him is no darkness at all" (I John i,5). The conditionality of the believer as well as the "oughtness"; i.e., "The indebtedness", of his situation contrasts with the Qumran concept that the just as well as the wicked were set apart from their mother's wombs, by God Himself, to possess that very nature or disposition which characterized their individual lives (I QH xv, 14-17); for, it is written in the Epistle, "He that saith he abideth in him ought (ὀφείλω, literally, 'is indebted to or obligated to') himself also so to walk even as he walked" (I John ii,6).¹³ The parallelism in this instance relates to the 'walking' as well as to the 'light-darkness' antithesis (Cf. I John i,6,7,; ii,6,6,11). There is in the conditionality of certain Johannine passages that which suggests an element of individual response; that is to say, of personal volition, freedom and individual choice inherent in the relationship of the believer with God.¹⁴

With reference to a possible parallelism in the use of the 'light-darkness' antithesis in both the Qumran writings and the First Epistle of John, there are certain distinctions which might mitigate against the suggestion that the two different literatures are speaking of an identical idea. Obviously, the question assumes enhanced importance if it is understood that the author of the First Epistle of John is the same person as the author of the Gospel of John.¹⁵ In John's Gospel there is recorded the assertion of Jesus Christ, "I am the light of the world"

¹³

Compare I John iii,16; iv,11-12.

¹⁴

Compare I John iii,18,22; i,6; ii,17,29; iii,7,10.

¹⁵

It is not the design of this work to attempt to establish the authorship of the First Epistle of John or of the Gospel of John; but, simply to acknowledge that certain modern scholars have suggested views other than the traditional view that the Epistle was written by the same

Ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου" (John viii,12; Cf. also John i,9 and xii,35). In the Epistle it is written that "God is light, and in him is no darkness at all ὅτι ὁ θεὸς φῶς ἐστὶν καὶ σκοτία ἐν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐστὶν οὐδεμία" (I John i,5). The emphasis centers around the mystical cohesive relationship between the believers and the divine beings. "We have fellowship with one another κοινωνίαν ἔχομεν μετ' ἀλλήλων" (I John i,7); likewise, "and moreover our fellowship (is) with the Father and with His Son, Jesus Christ καὶ ἡ κοινωνία δὲ ἡ ἡμετέρα μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ" (I John i,3). In-as-much as darkness has no place in the existence of the Father (I John i,5); and, the 'fellowship' of the believers is with the Father and the Son, the result is that the believer also walks in light, "If we walk in the light as he is in the light ἐὰν δὲ ἐν τῷ φωτὶ περιπατῶμεν ὡς αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ φωτί," we have fellowship with one another κοινωνίαν ἔχομεν μετ' ἀλλήλων" (I John i,7). The similarities of identifying the believer with the 'light' and with God and with the 'Truth' is immediately seen when comparing the Scrolls with the Epistle. However, one factor of difference is immediately obvious in the Epistle and this is the association of 'his son, Jesus Christ' in this 'fellowship'.¹⁶ Hence, the Christology of the Epistle at once renders an element of uniqueness in the use of the figures as John employs them.

author as the Gospel; which view was held by Tertullian, Irenaeus of Lyons Origen, Eusebius, Jerome and Cardinal L. A. Muratori—as well as by the majority of modern commentaries. Differences of opinion based upon analyses of the style, words, and upon circumstantial evidence have been expressed by several; but, without unanimity. Among the many authors who have dissented from the traditional view, C. H. Dodd, Bultmann, Haenchen, H. Preisker, H. Braun, W. Nauck, J. C. O'Neill and R. Schnackenburg, and others, have written dissenting opinions. The arguments relating to the linguistic variances between the Gospel and the Epistle should be noted; but, are inconclusive and do not necessarily offset the weight of the linguistic similarities between the two works. For purposes of this work, the common authorship is accepted as tenable.

¹⁶

Acknowledging the efforts of some to identify the 'teacher of righteousness' with Jesus Christ, it is felt that the difficulties are too many and too great; hence, the view that the Christology of the Epistle is unique from the Scrolls.

Distinctions immediately arise between the usage made by the author of the Epistle of the 'light-darkness' antithesis and that made by the author(s) of the Scrolls. In the Scrolls, it was God who created both of the Spirits of Good and of Evil; and, placed them both in each person; and, who also determined from the womb which of the Two Spirits would predominate in each individual life. In John's Epistle, 'God is light' and darkness has no place with Him. The believer walks in light and Truth and there can be no co-existence of light and darkness or of Truth and the lie in the individual experience. F. F. Bruce has written:

"The children of light are those whose behaviour reflects the character of God; they share with one another the fellowship which each enjoys 'with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ.'"¹⁷

R. Bultmann writes concerning the First Epistle of John that: "...truth," "light," and "life" belong together..."¹⁸ It may be seen also that the figures of "darkness" and the "lie" and death are antithetical. They have no place with God and hence with the believer who 'fellowships' with God and with His Son Jesus Christ.¹⁹

Another similarity is evident between columns 3-4 of the Manual of Discipline and the First Epistle of John (particularly i,1-10; although passages throughout the Epistle are involved); and that is that both of these documents are compact statements of prime metaphysical and theological importance to the communities involved.

In the First Epistle of John (i,1-10) these ideas center around the author's usage of the following words, many of which are to be found

¹⁷

F. F. Bruce, The Epistles of John, London, 1970, p. 43. Bruce further suggests concerning the 'light-darkness' antithesis, "Such phraseology plays a prominent part in the series of affinities of concept and language which have been traced between the Qumran literature and the Johannine writings." p. 41.

¹⁸

R. Bultmann, The Johannine Epistles, Philadelphia, 1973, p. 19.

¹⁹

Cf. R. Schnackenburg, op. cit., pp. 80-83, and Braun, Qumran und das Neue Testament, p. 101f.

expressed in Hebrew counterparts in the Scrolls: 'life' ζωή,²⁰ 'eternal life' τὴν ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον,²¹ 'the Father' τὸν πατέρα,²² 'his Son Jesus Christ' τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,²³ 'light' φῶς,²⁴ 'darkness' σκοτία,²⁵ 'God' ὁ θεός,²⁶ 'walk' περιπατῶμεν,²⁷ 'lie or falsehood' ψευδόμεθα,²⁸ 'the Truth' τὴν ἀλήθειαν,²⁹ 'the blood' τὸ αἷμα,³⁰ 'cleanses' καθαρίζει,³¹ 'sin' ἁμαρτίας,³² 'confession of sin' ὁμολογῶμεν τὰς ἁμαρτίας,³³ 'forgiveness' ἄφεσις,³⁴ 'unrighteousness' ἀδικίας,³⁵ 'his word' ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ.³⁶ Other significant words occur subsequently throughout the Epistle. But this list from i,1-10 serves to demonstrate that, on the one hand, the two literatures do indeed contain parallelisms in that certain words are used in both—such words as light, darkness, sin, cleansing, falsehood, truth, confession, forgiveness and lie, have their Hebrew equivalents in the Scrolls, and particularly, the third and fourth columns of the Manual of Discipline—while, on the other hand, it becomes immediately obvious that there are certain ideas in the Epistle which are distinct from any ideas within the Scrolls. These ideas, in turn, may give a different dimension to several or even to all of these terms which, on the surface,

²⁰ I John i,1,2; ii,16; iii, 14; v,11,16.

²¹ I John i,2; ii,25; iii,15; v,11,13,20.

²² I John i,3; ii,1,13,13,14, 15,16,22,23,24; iii,1; iv,14 (v,7).

²³ I John i,3,7; ii,22,23,24; iii,8,23; iv,9,10,14,15; v,5,9,10,10, 11,12,12,13,13,20,20.

²⁴ I John i,5,7,7; ii,8,9,10.

²⁵ I John i,5; Cf. i,6; ii,8, 9,11,11.

²⁶ I John i,5; ii,5,14,17; iii, 1,2,8,9,9,10,10,17,20,21; iv,1,2,2,3, 4,6,7,7,8,9,9,10,11,12,12,15,16,16, 20,20,21; v,1,2,3,4,5,9,10,10,10,11, 12,13,13,18,19,20,20.

²⁷ I John i,6,7; ii,6,11.

²⁸ I John i,6; Cf. ii,21,27; also, i,10; ii,4,22; iv,20; v,10.

²⁹ I John i,6,8; ii,4,21; iii, 18, 19; iv,6. Cf. ii,8,27. Cf. also, ii,8; v,20,20.

³⁰ I John i,7 (v,6,8).

³¹ I John i,7,9.

³² I John i,7,8,9,9; ii,2,12; iii,4,4,5,8,9; iv,10; v,16,16,17; Cf. also, i,10; ii,1; iii,6,6,8,8; v,16,16,18.

³³ I John i,9. The word is used with broader meaning in iv,2,3,15.

³⁴ I John i,9; ii,12.

³⁵ I John i,9; v,17.

³⁶ I John i,1,10; ii,5,7,14; iii,18 (v,7).

may appear to be similar or parallel.

The Johannine mention of "his son Jesus Christ" τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ (I John i,3); and, of the "blood of Jesus his son τὸ αἷμα Ἰησοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ (I John i,7) introduces aspects of the theology of the Epistle which have no parallel in the Qumran Scrolls. (This is not to deny that there are passages in the Scrolls which may be termed 'messianic references',³⁷ of which varied opinions have been written).³⁸ These ideas point to other religious observances of the believers to whom the First Epistle of John is addressed, the most significant of which was the rite of baptism. The word βαπτισμα, which is the Greek word for baptism employed in the New Testament, is not found in the Epistle; although, there are repeated allusions to baptism inherent in the use of other terms such as 'fellowship' ἡ κοινωνία (I John i,3),³⁹ 'the blood of Jesus' τὸ αἷμα Ἰησοῦ (I John i,7),⁴⁰ 'cleanses' καθαρίζει (I John i,7),⁴¹ 'confess' ὁμολογῶμεν (I John i,9),⁴² 'forgive' ἄφῃ (I John, i,9),⁴³ 'anointing or unction' χρίσμα (I John ii,20),⁴⁴ 'born of God' ὁ γεγεννημένος ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ (I John iii,9),⁴⁵ 'children of God' τὰ τέκνα τοῦ θεοῦ (I John iii,1),⁴⁶ 'the Spirit which he hath given us' τοῦ πνεύματος οὗ ἡμῖν ἔδωκεν (I John iii,24),⁴⁷ and, 'the witness' ἡ μαρτυρία (I John v,9).⁴⁸

³⁷ References to the masi h are to be found in CD ii,12; vi,1; vii, 21; (=xix,10); xx,1; xiii,21; xii,23-24; xiv,19; I QS ix,11; IQ28a ii,12, 14,20; IQ30 i,2; I QM ix,8; xi,7; 4QPatrBless.

³⁸ Compare W. S. LaSor, The Dead Sea Scrolls, 151-163; M. Burrows, More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls, pp. 297-311; D. Barthélemy, Discoveries in the Judean Desert, I: 117.

³⁹ I John i,3,6,7.

⁴⁰ Cf. I John v,6,8.

⁴¹ I John i,9.

⁴² I John i,9; Cf. also ii,23; iv,2,3,15.

⁴³ I John i,9; ii,12. ⁴⁴ I John ii, 20,27,27.

⁴⁵ I John iii,9; Cf. also ii,29; iii,9; iv,7; v,1,1,4,18,18.

⁴⁶ I John iii,1,2,10; v,2; Cf. iv,4,6.

⁴⁷ I John iii,24; iv,2; iv,13; note particularly the dualism in iv,6.

⁴⁸ I John i,9,10,10,11.

There are other expressions also which, while they may not refer directly to a particular rite such as baptism, still were used by the author of the Epistle to differentiate the polarity of the estate of the believer from that of the non-believer; hence, a dualism of which more will be written later in this chapter. Some of the expressions which were used to set forth the estate of the believers were: "walk in the light" ἐν τῷ φωτὶ περιπατοῦμεν (I John i,7),⁴⁹ "we know that we know him" γινώσκουμεν ὅτι ἐγνώκαμεν αὐτόν (I John ii,3),⁵⁰ "in him is the love of God perfected" ἐν τούτῳ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ τελείωται (I John ii,5),⁵¹ "we know that we are in him" γινώσκουμεν ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐσμεν (I John ii,5),⁵² "the word of God abideth in you" ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν μένει (I John ii,14),⁵³ "ye have overcome the wicked one" νενικηκατε τὸν πονηρὸν (I John ii,14),⁵⁴ "he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever" ὁ δὲ ποιῶν τὸ θέλημα ...

49

I John ii,6 (note the Christological aspect); Cf. I John i,6 and ii,11 where the antithesis and dualism is portrayed. The parallelism to Qumran literature with reference to this figure is clear.

50

The knowledge of God is a prime characteristic. Again the antithesis and dualism is expressed. Compare I John ii,3,5,13a,13c,14a,29 (2); iii,16,19; iv,1,3,6,7,13,16; v,2,20. The antithesis and dualism is shown in ii,4; iii,1(2),6; iv,6,8. The antithesis of knowing a false spirit is shown in iv,1-3. The Christological aspect is clearly expressed in v,20.

51

I John iv,12,17,18c; Cf. also iii,1,16; iv,7,9,11,16a,18a,19,21; v,1,2,3. The antithesis is seen in ii,15; iii,17; iv,8,20. The Christological aspect is seen in iii,16.

52

The antithesis is emphatic. Men are 'in' or 'of' God (the light, or 'truth') I John i,5; ii,9,24,27; iii,6a,24; iv,2,4,6,13,15; v,19; or, they are not; but are in a state of polarity Cf. I John ii,9,11,19,23; iii,8; iv,3,5,6. The metaphysical dualism is apparent throughout; and, the Christological aspect is again clear in v,20 as well as throughout the passages cited.

53

I John i,1; ii,5,7,14. The antithesis ii,14 is found clearly in i,10. Either the 'word of God' abides in you or it does not. A dualism is clearly set forth between the estate of the believer and the non-believer.

54

That the author of the Epistle viewed the inhabitants of the cosmos as being engaged in a great metaphysical and spiritual conflict may be seen in I John iii,13; iv,4 and v,4 where the metaphysical dualism is seen in the identifying of the world with the evil which must be overcome. The Christological aspect of this conflict is clearly seen in v,5.

τοῦ θεοῦ μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (I John ii,17),⁵⁵ "ye know it (i.e., the 'truth')" ἀλλ' ὅτι οἴδατε αὐτήν i.e., (αληθειαν) (I John ii,21),⁵⁶ "everyone that doeth righteousness πᾶς ὁ ποιῶν τὴν δικαιοσύνην"⁵⁷ has been born of him" ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγέννηται (I John ii,29),⁵⁸ "Behold ..(the)love the Father hath bestowed upon us ἴδετε ποταπὴν ἀγάπην δεδώκεν ἡμῖν ὁ πατήρ"⁵⁹ so that we may be called the children of

⁵⁵ Cf. I John ii,29; iii,8,9,22; v,2. The antithesis of those who do the will of God is found in i,6,10; iii,4,10; v,10. The element of conditionality is present, which does suggest that the individual response and volition is involved in the 'doing' or 'not doing'.

⁵⁶ Truth is the antithesis of the lie; so, they who are of the Truth stand in polarity to those who for whatever reason are of error or of the lie. Compare those who are 'of the Truth' (I John ii,21; iii, 18,19; iv,6; v,6) with those 'of the lie' (I John i,6,8; ii,4; iv,6). The reference to the 'spirit of Truth' and to the 'spirit of error' apart from its obvious antithesis is one of the closest parallels to Qumran thought to be found in the Epistle; yet, the metaphysical factor with reference to these two spirits is not developed precisely in the same way as in the Scrolls. The antithesis is further shown in ii,8 and v,20(2).

⁵⁷ Assuming that the 'he' in I John i,9 refers to God; then it follows that God is righteous. In I John ii,1 Jesus Christ is righteous (Cf. ii,29a, iii,7b). The believer is 'to do righteousness' (Cf. ii,29; iii,7); and, as such stands in contrast to those who 'do not righteousness; as it is written "whosoever doeth not righteousness is not of God" (iii,10). The antithesis is clear. The Christological aspect is found in iii,7b; and, the conditionality of the individual response is evident also in the 'if' clause of ii,29; and, in the idea that the 'doing righteousness results from the choice and volition of the individual.

⁵⁸ The expression 'born of God' is a key one throughout the Epistle. Cf. I John ii,29; iii,9,9; iv,7; v,1(3); v,18,18. The statements in v, 1 and v,4,5 show the vital Christological consideration. There is an important association of such phrases as 'doing righteousness' (ii,29), 'not committing sin' (iii,9), 'loving God and one another' (iv,7; v,1), 'knowing God' (iv,7) and 'overcoming the world' (v,5). Note the Christological association to this phrase in v,5 where 'believing on Jesus as the Son of God' is equated with the phrase 'born of God' in v,4. In v,18 such an one 'keepeth himself'. This idea of 'being born of God' in a direct sense depicts the believer as being engaged in a struggle with the world and with evil v,18-19.

⁵⁹ The concept of the 'love of God' is paramount in the Epistle. It centers around certain prime declarations: "God is Love" iv,8,16; "Love is of God" iv,7; "He first loved us" iv,19; iii,16; iv,9,10,16; "We love him" iv,19; and hence, this 'love of the Father' stands in antithetical relationship to the 'love of the world' ii,20; iii,17; iv,18. Men are to 'love one another' iv,7; iv,10,20,21; v,1,2. The 'agape' concept of this Epistle finds no parallel in the Scrolls. The Christological aspect is

God" ἵνα τέκνα θεοῦ κληθῶμεν (I John iii,1),⁶⁰ "Every man that hath this hope πᾶς ὁ ἔχων τὴν ἐλπίδα ταύτην⁶¹ purifieth himself even as he is pure ἀγνίζει ἐαυτὸν καθὼς ἐκεῖνος ἄγνός ἐστιν" (I John iii,3),⁶² "Whosoever abideth in him sinneth not" πᾶς ὁ ἐν αὐτῷ μένων οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει (I John iii,6),⁶³ 'his seed remaineth in him' ὅτι σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ μένει (I John iii,9),⁶⁴ "We should love one another ἵνα ἀγαπῶμεν ἀλλήλους (I John iii,11),⁶⁵ "We have passed from death unto life" μεταβεβήκαμεν ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου εἰς τὴν ζωὴν (I John iii,14),⁶⁶ "we know that we are of the truth"

central to the 'agape' theme (iii,16; iv,9,10-11,14,19; v,20). There are definite dualistic notions associated with the 'love' idea. Reference is made to 'everyone that loves' (iii,7); and, 'he that loveth not' (iii,8). There are those who love God and those who do not love God (note the distinction in iv,19-21). Men are divided between those who 'love the world and the things in the world' (ii,15); and, those in whom 'the love of God' (or 'of the Father', ii,15) is perfected' (ii,5; iv,12). That the phrase, 'the love of God' may refer to our love of God as well as to 'God's love for us' is possible; but, the point is that the individual in whom this subjective-objective relationship exists stands in polarity to those who do not love God.

⁶⁰

The 'children of God' stand in contradistinction to the 'children of the devil' (iii,10; Cf. also iii,1,2; v,1-2).

⁶¹

As in Qumran, so the Christian believer's hope centered in the eschatological climax of history. In the Epistle this hope centers in the παρουσία of Christ. (iii,1-3 which should be read in the context of ii,28).

⁶²

Two considerations are to be noted here; that the action is a reflexive action which must involve volition and choice; and, the Christological aspect in the phrase 'as he is pure'—both of which would distinguish the concept from the Qumran thought. The duality is seen in comparing the 'purity' of the believer with the sinful condition of others.

⁶³

The whole passage from iii,4-iii,10 portrays the polarity of the believer to the non-believer with reference to the problem of sin. It must be read in the light of i,8-9. The Christological sentiments of the passage are pivotal.

⁶⁴

Compare with Gal. iii,29 and Romans ix,7-8. There is no parallel in the Scrolls.

⁶⁵

Cf. iii,23; iv,7,11,12. Likewise, the believer is to 'love his brother' (ii,10; iii,14; iv,21; v,1,2) in which case he stands in polarity to the one who does not love his brother (iii,10,14; iv,20). Cf. the antithesis of those who love (iv,7) with those who love not (iv,8). ὁ ἀγαπῶν is the chief thing which distinguishes all of the parallelisms and similarities which are found in the Epistle from their counterpart in the Scrolls.

⁶⁶

The single instance of the figure again supports the duality of those who love and those who love not...life and death. The antithesis is further developed in iii,15.

γνωσόμεθα ὅτι ἐκ τῆς αληθείας ἐσμέν (I John iii,19),⁶⁷ "we keep his commandments" τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ τηροῦμεν (I John iii,22),⁶⁸ "and do those things which are pleasing in his sight" καὶ τὰ ἀρεστὰ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ποιοῦμεν (I John iii,22),⁶⁹ "we should believe on the name of his Son Jesus Christ" πιστεύσωμεν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (I John iii,23),⁷⁰ "Hereby know ye the Spirit of God" ἐν τούτῳ γινώσκετε τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ (I John iv,2),⁷¹ "Ye are of God" ὑμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστε (I John iv,4),⁷² "greater is he that is in you, than he that is in the world" ὅτι μείζων ἐστὶν ὁ ἐν ὑμῖν ἢ ὁ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ (I John iv,4),⁷³ "we have seen and do testify that the Father sent the Son (to be) the Saviour of the world" ἡμεῖς

67

The antithesis of the 'truth' and the 'lie' is a parallelism to Qumranic literature. But the development of the antithesis soon obviates that there are differences. The baptism of the believer was considered in the Epistle as showing that the believer was joined to the truth; and, as showing that he was separated from the lie (ii,27). Truth and the lie are mutually exclusive (ii,21). Walking in darkness is equated with living the lie; by inference, walking in the light is equated as living the truth (i,6-7). The Christological element introduced in v,20 differentiates the development of the antithesis in the Epistle clearly from that which is found in the Scrolls.

68

The keeping of his commandments characterizes those who know him (ii,3; note, that the antithesis in ii,4 is clear), those who dwell in him and he in them (iii,24), those who love God and the children of God (v,2-3). The Christological aspect comes in the latter passage in v,5.

69

That is, 'the will of God' (ii,17) which stands in polarity to those things which the children of the world do. The believer will do the truth in contrast to those who do not the truth (i,6-ii,6). The believer will do righteousness (iii,7) in contrast to those who do unrighteousness (iii,10). The inference of ii,6 is that the believer will walk as he (Christ) walked. Hence the deep Christological association in the doing of the things which please God.

70

This concept totally distinguishes the 'sons of God' in the Epistle from the 'sons of God' in the Scrolls. The insistence is repeated in iv,14; v,1,5,10. John insists that the one that does not believe on the Son of God hath made God a liar because he does not believe the things which God has witnessed concerning His Son (v,10-11).

71

Cf. I John iii,24; iv,13; v,6. There is the "Spirit of truth" and the 'Spirit of error' (iv,6; note also iv,1-3). The use of the antithesis here, in spite of the seeming parallelism, has distinctive Christological sentiments as in iv,2—note the antithesis of iv,3.

72

Cf. iv,15. The antithesis is also there in iii,10 and iv,3,6; Cf. also iii,9; iv,1,2,4,15; v,19.

73

The metaphysical dualism here is clear. It is God that is in us (iv,12,13; iii,24; iv,15,16. Antithetically, "the whole world

τεθεάμεθα καὶ μαρτυροῦμεν ὅτι ὁ πατὴρ ἀπέσταλκεν τὸν υἱὸν σωτῆ-
ρα τοῦ κόσμου (I John iv,14),⁷⁴ "whosoever shall confess that Jesus is

the Son of God" ὅς ἐάν ὁμολογήσῃ ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ

θεοῦ (I John iv,15),⁷⁵ "we have known and believed the love that God

hath to us" καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐγνώκαμεν καὶ πεπιστεύκαμεν τὴν ἀγάπην ἣν

ἔχει ὁ θεὸς ἐν ἡμῖν (I John iv,16),⁷⁶ "Herein is our love made

perfect" ἐν τούτῳ τετελειώται ἡ ἀγάπη μεθ' ἡμῶν (I John iv,17),⁷⁷

"we may have boldness in the day of judgment" ἵνα παρρησίαν ἔχωμεν

ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως (I John iv,17),⁷⁸ "as he is, so are we in

this world" ὅτι καθὼς ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ

τούτῳ (I John iv,17),⁷⁹ "There is no fear in love" φόβος οὐκ ἐστὶν

τι ἐν τῇ κακίᾳ (I John v,19); the one doing sin is of the devil (I John iii,8). The one in whom God dwells is the one who confesses that Jesus is the Son of God; hence, the Christological dimension of this antithesis in the Epistle as compared to the God-Belial antithesis in the Scrolls. Cf. also v,18c.

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This relationship of the Father and the Son in the Johannine soteriology has no counterpart in the Scrolls. The concept of the Father sending the Son is used three times in the Epistle; iv,9,10,14. It ought also to be noted that the Son is the Saviour of the world and not alone of the ones making the confession of the Son.

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There is a parallelism here in that initiates of each of the communities had to enter into the community of believers through initiatory rites—which in the case of the believers mentioned in the Epistle was the rite of baptism. The confession was an integral part of the admission into the community of believers. The Confession that Jesus is the Son of God totally differentiates the Epistle from the Scrolls. Cf. I John i,9; iv,2,3.

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This passage may be seen as one of the basic concepts of the Epistle which suggests an element of free-will in the response of the individual. Those who believe are standing in polarity to those who do not believe even though both groups know of the love of God. Compare "those who believe" (I John iii,23; v,1,2,10) with "those who believe not" (v,10; cf. ii,19).

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Compare the antithesis, "he that feareth is not made perfect in love" (I John iv,18).

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That both literatures mention the day of judgment is a clear parallelism. But the roll of the 'agape' or love in the individual position at the day of judgment differentiates the Epistle from the Scrolls.

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The followers of Christ were not admonished to leave the world and take up ascetic lives in a hidden quarter. They remained 'in the world' knowing that they were of God (I John v,19). Compare the Gospel of John xvii,15-16.

ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ (I John iv,18),⁸⁰ "For whatsoever is born of God overcometh the world" ὅτι πᾶν τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ νικᾷ τὸν κόσμον (I John v,4),⁸¹ "and this is the victory that overcometh the world, the faith of us" καὶ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ νίκη ἡ νικήσασα τὸν κόσμον, ἡ πίστις ἡμῶν (I John iv,4),⁸² and, "God hath given us eternal life" ὅτι ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ θεός (I John v,11).⁸³

From this attempt to set forth some of the more important concepts of the First Epistle of John which differentiate the estate of the believer from that of the non-believer, several considerations become obvious. These distinctions pertain to the duality which is in the Epistle; and, to the similarities as well as the distinctions which are to be found in comparing the Epistle with the Qumran Scrolls.

In the first instance, there is a degree of similarity in that both literatures set forth a metaphysical duality. The Scrolls are more explicit than the Epistle; however neither literature develops what might be termed a complete metaphysical concept; and, differences in the

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The one who confesses that Jesus is the Son of God stands in contrast to the children of the world. The believer has not the fear and torment which sin brings now and in the day of judgment (iv,15-18). he has boldness, παρρησίαν, in contrast to the fear of the wicked. (iv,18cd). This passage renders glimpses of John's view of the metaphysical conflict in the kosmos. It is the 'agape' concept which dispels the believer's fear. His response to the love of God is based upon the fact that God loved us first (iv,19) and gave his son to be the propitiation for our sins (Cf. iv,10 and ii,2).

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The concept is central to the Epistle (ii,29; iii,9; iv,7; v,1, 4,18). The gracious mercy of God in the sending of his Son for our sins confers upon those who believe a relationship to God in which they are described as having been begotten of God, they are hence 'sons of God'.

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Both literatures portray a conflict. In the Epistle, it is the one who is born of God (v,1) who believes that Jesus is the Christ (v,1) who overcomes the world. The faith or belief of the believer is elevated to a pinnacle in the soteriological processes of the Epistle (v,4).

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Eternal life was the hope of members of both communities. In the Epistle Cf. I John i,2; ii,25; v,13,20. The antithesis is seen in I John iii,14c,15. The eternal life hath been given to us by God... and this life is in His Son" (I John v,11) The Christological association is clear.

metaphysical thought structures of each of the systems is obvious. Both systems base their theology upon their declarations about God. The light-darkness antithesis in each of the systems is personified in the sense that light is associated with God while darkness is associated with the devil or Belial. The dualism emerges in a cosmological-ethical conflict between truth and error, obedience and sin, righteousness and unrighteousness, love and hate, the community of believers and the cosmos. It was earlier shown in the comments about the Scrolls that their cosmology makes specific mention of God, Belial, the Prince of light and the Angel of darkness, an angelology, and the Two Spirits. It was shown that the conflict is even found in nature and undoubtedly embraced a comprehensive world-view.

In the Epistle of John there are semblances of these ideas. It has already been shown that the 'light-darkness' antithesis is obvious. There is conflict in the cosmos between God and Satan, and between the community of the believers and the world. There is no Angelology which represents a significant difference between the two literatures. But, the world or cosmos is identified with darkness, sin and evil; and as such stands in polarity to the Father; hence the cosmos is involved in the conflict (I John ii,15-17). There are other dimensions of the conflict in the Epistle which distinguish the ideas of the Epistle from the cosmology and metaphysics of the Scrolls.

There are very specific declarations about God in the Epistle. It is written, "God is light" ὁ θεὸς φῶς ἐστίν (I John i,5). At the same time it states, "in him is no darkness at all" καὶ σκοτία ἐν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐστίν οὐδεμία (I John i,5). The 'children of God' who 'walk in light' stand as the antithesis of the 'children of the devil' who 'walk in darkness'.⁸⁴ Hence, the devil is identified as the opponent

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Compare I John i,6-7 and iii,8-10.

of the 'Children of God' along with the Children of the devil. Only small literary vignettes are given in the Epistle to portray the role of the Devil in this cosmological conflict. It states that "the whole world lieth in wickedness" καὶ ὁ κόσμος ὅλος ἐν τῷ πονηρῷ κεῖται (I John v,19). The 'wicked one', ο πονηρος, mentioned in v,18⁸⁵ undoubtedly refers to the Devil as the opponent of the 'Children of God'; and, the one who is 'born of God' (v,18-19). John's Epistle does not distinctly set up Satan as the antithesis of God in setting forth his dualistic cosmology as clearly, for instance as was done in the ancient Iranian concepts of the Avesta. The Epistle states that "from (the) beginning the Devil sins" ὅτι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὁ διάβολος ἁμαρτάνει (I John iii,8).⁸⁶ The 'Children of the Devil' are those who stand in polarity to the 'Children of God'. The first are those who continually sin (iii, 8a) who stand as the antithesis of those who are 'born of God'—and who are not continually sinning (iii,9). The 'community of the believers' called in the Epistle, ἡ κοινωνία, are allied to God in this conflict.

The "works of the Devil" are offensive to God and must be destroyed (iii,8). The 'Community of the believers' are admonished to "love not the world μὴ ἀγαπάτε τὸν κόσμον neither the things in the world μηδὲ τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ (I John ii,15). The 'lust of the flesh' and the 'lust of the eyes' and the 'pride of life' characterizes the world (ii,16). Then, the author of the Epistle speaks of the temporal nature of the cosmos and of the conflict when he writes, "And the world is passing away" καὶ ὁ κόσμος παράγεται (I John ii,17).⁸⁷ The antitheses

⁸⁵ Cf. also I John ii,14 καὶ νενικήκατε τὸν πονηρόν. The passage clearly indicates the struggle against the Devil.

⁸⁶ The passage is very similar to the Gospel of John viii,44 in which the conflict against the Truth is likewise mentioned.

⁸⁷ Cf. ii,8 where the 'darkness is passing away' because the 'true light is now shining'. The inference is clear that in the mind of the author the world cannot remain indefinitely. The outcome of the conflict is certain.

are clear between the light and darkness; between the wicked one and the Father.

Likewise, Cain is cited as being "of that wicked one" ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ. His evil works stand as the antithesis of the righteous works of his brother, ὅτι τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ πονηρὰ ἦν, τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ δίκαια (iii,12). Abel's righteous works stand in polarity to those of Cain. With reference to Satan, as the 'evil one' certain of the young men who were addressed by the author of the Epistle thus, "ye have overcome the wicked one: καὶ νενικήκατε τὸν πονηρόν (I John ii,14). The picture is that of a cosmological dualism in which the inhabitants of earth are engaged along with God and the Devil in a conflict.

Up to this point there are real similarities between the concept of the Scrolls and that of the Epistle even though the references to the presence of this conflict within the forces of nature and of any mention of an angelology are missing from the Epistle. Another factor of this dualistic conflict is presented in the Epistle which gives a dimension to the Dualism of the Epistle for which no counterpart may be found in the Scrolls. The references to the 'wicked one', ὁ πονηρὸς, or the Devil,⁸⁸ stand in contradistinction to the several references to the expression 'that one' ἐκεῖνος.⁸⁹ The expression is used with direct reference to Jesus Christ and the intervention which He made in the dualistic conflict, "And ye know that that one was manifested to take away our sins" καὶ οἴδατε ὅτι ἐκεῖνος ἐφανερώθη ἵνα τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἄρῃ (I John iii,5). Likewise, "Hereby perceive we the love, because that one laid down his life on behalf of us" ἐν τούτῳ ἐγνώκαμεν τὴν ἀγάπην, ὅτι ἐκεῖνος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἔθηκεν (I John

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Cf. I John ii,13,14; iii,12,12; v,18,19.

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Cf. I John ii,6; iii,3,5,7,16.

iii,16).⁹⁰ Two factors in this reference distinguish the theology and the dualistic metaphysical concepts of the Epistle from those of the Scrolls. The first is the mention of love with reference to the sacrifice of Christ. And the second obvious factor is that Christ through the sacrifice of himself, on our behalf, is the vital agent in the entire soteriology of the Epistle. Nor can it be forgotten that 'God sent his only begotten Son into the world' ὅτι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ ἀπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸν κόσμον (I John iv,9). A further clarification of the role of the Son in this conflict is mentioned in the next verse, "he (God) loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins" ὅτι αὐτὸς (ὁ θεὸς) ἠγάπησεν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀπέστειλεν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἱλασμὸν περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν (I John iv,10).⁹¹ No parallel or similarity can be found in the Scrolls for the concept which centers upon the use of the term, ἱλασμὸν, in the Epistle.⁹²

Particularly, in the association of the term to the manifestation of Jesus Christ in the world.⁹³ The incarnation and sacrifice of Jesus thus are the very focal point of the conflict in the view of the Epistle. The term signifies an act of mercy. But in the Epistle this mercy of God is in a particular sense manifested in His Son toward sinners (iv,10); and, towards the world, "he is the propitiation for our sins; and not for our's only, but also for (the sins of) the whole world" καὶ αὐτὸς ἱλασμός ἐστιν περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, οὐ περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ὁ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου (I John ii,2).⁹⁴ The believers

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The coming of Jesus Christ in the flesh is of prime importance for the author who apparently sought to counter gnostic influences, iv,2-3.

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Compare the Gospel of John iii,16. Mercy is mentioned in the Scrolls, but in the Epistle it is centered in Jesus Christ.

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The concept of the atonement has no parallel in the Scrolls that can in any way be considered as a parallelism or similarity to this idea.

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Cf. I John i,1-2; iii,5,8; iv,9.

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That Jesus is the propitiation for the sin of the whole world has no parallel in the Scrolls.

were likewise admonished to "walk, even as that one walked" ὁφείλει καθὼς ἐκεῖνος περιεπάτησεν καὶ αὐτὸς περιπατεῖν (I John ii,6).

The expression is further used with reference to Christ in stating that in "him (that one) is no sin" (iii,5); "he is righteous (iii,7); "he is pure (iii,3); and, that as 'that one' (Christ) is, so also are we in the world (iii,17).

Another aspect of this metaphysical dualism in the Epistle is the reference to the "spirit of the Truth" τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας ; and to the "spirit of deception (perversity)" τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς πλάνης (I John iv,6). This reference to two antithetical spirits, along with the earlier passage which speaks of "the Spirit which he hath given us" ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος οὗ ἡμῖν ἔδωκεν (I John iii,24); seem, on the surface, to be two of the most direct contacts of the Epistle with the Qumran Scrolls. O.J.F. Seitz⁹⁵ (who follows the ideas of J. P. Audet), A.R.C. Leaney⁹⁶ and others have shown the possible relationships of the ideas pertaining to the 'Two Spirits' in the Scrolls and the Epistle. What is important in this study is that there are distinctive differences in the Epistle. The Scrolls state that God has created both of these spirits (I QH iii,15,25; xi,11); whereas there is no explicit statement in the Epistle to this effect. The creation does not appear to be a prime consideration in the Epistle as compared to the Gospel of John(i,3,10). The assertion of the Epistle that "God is light, and in him is no darkness at all" (i,3) gives a different view of God in this respect than that found in the Scrolls. The concept of the metaphysical conflict in which Satan leads all of the forces of darkness against the forces of light is not so graphically described in the Epistle as in the Scrolls; hence the doctrine of

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O. J. F. Seitz, "Two Spirits in Man: an Essay in Biblical Exegesis", in NTS 6, 1959-60, pp. 82-94.

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A. R. C. Leaney, op. cit., pp. 50-54.

of the 'Two Spirits' may not be developed in precisely the same way.⁹⁷

The passage in I John iv,1-3 introduces another aspect of the concept that a metaphysical conflict centers in this world. It is written that "every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God" πάν πνεῦμα ὃ ὁμολογεῖ 'Ιησοῦν Χριστόν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔστιν; whereas, "every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus (Christ is come in the flesh) is not of God" καὶ πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ μὴ ὁμολογεῖ τὸν 'Ιησοῦν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν (I John iv,2-3). Possibly, in the mind of John, those who were engaged in teaching the heresies against which his Epistle is written are viewed as being on the side of those metaphysical powers and spirits of which the Devil who sinned from the beginning is the leader. The antithetical usage of this passage in the Epistle with its Christological importance is unique when compared to the Scrolls.

Apart from John's references to the Devil and the 'evil one' mentioned earlier, possibly no word in the Epistle has a more direct bearing on the duality of the Epistle than the word, ὁ κόσμος, i.e., the world, which is the antithesis of the 'community of believers'.⁹⁸ The word is common to Johannine literature; particularly, the Gospel of John as compared to Matthew, Mark and Luke; and, to the First Epistle of John. The duality is emphatic; as in these antithetical words: "They are of the world" αὐτοὶ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου εἰσὶν (I John iv,5); as compared to the believers, "Ye are of God, little children, and have overcome then" ὕμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστε, τέκνία, καὶ νενικήκατε αὐτούς (I John iv,4). Likewise, "We know that we are of God" οἴδαμεν ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐσμεν and the whole world lies in wickedness" καὶ ὁ κόσμος ὅλος ἐν τῷ

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Leaney suggests, "The concept of the two spirits seem to reach full development, at least in one form, in the Johannine literature." Op. cit., p. 50.

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The world is temporal, darkness, evil (I John ii,15-17); and must be overcome by the children of God by faith (I John v,4-5).

πονηρῶ κεῖται (I John v,19). In this regard, there is an allusion to the metaphysical dimensions of this conflict when John asserts, "that greater is he that is in you, than he that is in the world" ὅτι μείζων ἐστὶν ὁ ἐν ὑμῖν ἢ ὁ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ (I John iv,4).⁹⁹ John identifies himself with those to whom he writes by addressing them as "little children", τεκνία, (I John iv,4);¹⁰⁰ as "Beloved", Αγαπητοί, (I John iv,1);¹⁰¹ and, "brethren", ἀδελφοί, (I John iii,13).¹⁰² That John uses these words of greeting in an antithetical sense has already been shown with reference to his use of the word 'children'; but it is particularly emphatic when he addresses them as "brethren"; because he says that they ought not to marvel "if the world hates you" εἰ μισεῖ ὑμᾶς ὁ κόσμος (I John iii,13).

Which again points to another of the antitheses which are to be found in the First Epistle of John, the love-hate antithesis. In three of the instances in which hatred is mentioned, it has reference to having 'hatred for a brother'.¹⁰³ The statement that "whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer" πᾶς ὁ μισῶν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἄνθρωποκτόνος ἐστίν (I John iii,15) has an affinity to the passage in the Gospel of John in which it is recorded that Jesus said, "He (the devil) was a murderer from the beginning and abode not in the truth..." ἐκεῖνος ἀνθρωποκτόνος ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ οὐκ ἔστηκεν (John viii,44). The polarity of the two groups is repeated throughout the Epistle of John. In the view of John, the 'Children of God' have God dwelling in them and His love is perfected in them. In contradistinction,

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"He that committeth sin is of the devil" (iii,8); while, "ye are of God (iv,4); and, "Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him, and he in God" (iv,15). The antithesis is even further developed with reference to speaking and hearing, (iv,5-6).

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Cf. I John ii,12,28; iii,7,18; v,21.

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Cf. I John iii,2,21; iv,7,11.

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Cf. I John ii,7; iii,14,16.

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I John ii,9; iii,15; iv,20.

the 'children of the world' are 'of the devil' (I John iii,8); they lie even as he lies and abode not in the truth; and, they hate the 'children of God'.

The duality which is shown between the world and the Community of the believers is also seen in certain of the eschatological references in the Epistle. The references to the Advent, τῇ παρουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ, (I John ii,28; Compare also John's use of the word 'appear', φανερωθῇ, in I John iii,2) demonstrate the polarity between the 'children of God' who "abide in him" and who, "when he shall appear" may have "confidence", παρρησίαν, before him. The 'Children of God' will also have "confidence", παρρησίαν in the judgment (iv,17). There are similarities again between the two communities in that both reflected their expectations for the future in their eschatological concepts. The idea of a "day of judgment" is common to both communities. However, the 'parousia' of Jesus again gives the eschatology of the Epistle a Christological dimension which distinguishes it from the Scrolls.

For instance, John declares that "when he shall appear ὅτι ἐὰν φανερωθῇ, we shall be like him ὅμοιοι αὐτῷ ἐσόμεθα, for we shall see him as he is" ὅτι ὁφόμεθα αὐτὸν καθὼς ἐστίν (I John iii,2). The vivid descriptions of the rewards and punishments of the 'sons of truth' (I QS iv,2-8); and of the 'sons of perversity' (I QS iv,9-14, 25-26) have no parallel in the Epistle. In that sense the eschatology of the Epistle is not so explicit as that of the Scrolls. Possibly the positive emphasis of the Love of God throughout the Epistle led the author to dwell upon the 'hope', τὴν ἐλπίδα, of the 'children of God' (I John iii,3). Though, by inference the dualism is again present in the passage (iii,1-10); for, not only are people designated as "the children of God" and the "children of the devil"; but, they either "commit sin" (iii,8) or they "do not commit sin" (iii,9); and, those of the world

sin" (3,8) or they "do not commit sin" (3,9); and, those of the world who know not the children of God, even as they knew not God, (iii,1) are quite apart from those who have the knowledge of what will transpire when Jesus is manifested at his appearing (iii,2); and, who know that Jesus was manifested to "take away our sins" καὶ οἴδατε ὅτι ἐκεῖνος¹⁰⁴ ἐφανερώθη ἵνα τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἄρῃ (iii,5). The one doing righteousness (iii,7) stands in polarity to the one who doeth not righteousness and who is not of God (iii,8). The phrase "because it knew him not" ὅτι οὐκ ᾔγνων αὐτόν (iii,1); with reference to the world, possibly refers directly to the 'not knowing' of Jesus, which would stand in contrast to that which is the chief purpose of the Epistle to declare to the people (i,1-3a). If this is so, then a Christological distinction is again given to the concepts of the Epistle.

Another expression in the Epistle which gives added dimension to several of the concepts under consideration is the use made of the term 'fellowship', ἡ κοινωνία, with reference to the 'community of the believers'. This fellowship is with the Father and with his Son, Jesus Christ (i,3). Thus the Epistle sets forth a cosmological-ethical dualism which envisages a metaphysical conflict involving the Father, the Son, and the fellowship or community of believers who stand in opposition to the Devil, false spirits, the antichrists...the world.

Even as John has used the 'light-darkness', 'righteous-unrighteous', 'truth-lie', 'father-Devil', 'good-evil' and other antitheses is setting forth his 'gospel' in the frame of reference of his metaphysical dualism; still there are two other of the antitheses which must be considered before the question is considered as to whether or not a determinism is to be found in the dualistic concepts of John's Epistle which would correspond to the determinism which is found in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

The use of this word in the Epistle does not always refer to Jesus as in I John v,16; but, as mentioned earlier, in I John ii,6; iii,3,5,7,16 and iv,17 it refers to Jesus.

These two antitheses which still ought to be considered are the 'life-death' antithesis and the 'love-hate' antithesis. In the first instance, it is characteristic of Johannine literature to have a pre-occupation with 'life'.¹⁰⁵ That the First Epistle of John is vitally concerned with eternal life is obvious. In this respect, there is a parallel between the Scrolls and the Epistle. However, the soteriology and eschatology of the Epistle have used this subject in a way which quickly distinguishes it from the Scrolls.

In the first instance, John uses the expression 'life' with reference to Jesus as the 'Word of life', τοῦ λόγου τῆς ζωῆς, which 'life' was manifested (I John i,if-ii). The Epistle is written to witness and "show unto you that eternal life" ἀπαγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν τὴν ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον. In the Epistle, the 'life' is identified with the person and eternal existence of Jesus, "which was with the Father ἥτις ἦν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα and was manifested unto us καὶ ἐφανερώθη ἡμῖν" (I John i,2).¹⁰⁶ The author of the Epistle later reminds the ones who have received the anointing that God has promised them eternal life.¹⁰⁷ It is important to observe that whereas both the Epistle and the Scrolls speak of the eternal life which is to be the visitation of the members of the communities, the Scrolls also speak antithetically of the damnation of the sons of perversity in the pits of hell...a subject upon which the Epistle remains silent.

In the Epistle, the antithesis is used with reference to those who are within the community, "We know that we have passed from death unto life" ἡμεῖς οἶδαμεν ὅτι μεταβεβήκαμεν ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου εἰς τὴν ζωὴν (I John iii,14).¹⁰⁸ By comparison, the one who does not love(his brother)"remains in death" ὁ μὴ ἀγαπῶν μένει ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ (iii,14).

¹⁰⁵ Much more than any other New Testament book.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. the Prologue of John's Gospel. ¹⁰⁷Cf. John vi,47.

¹⁰⁸ John v,24.

The Epistle speaks little of death. But a passage may be mentioned in which a distinct dualism is found where, by inference, the 'life-death antithesis is suggested, "He that hath the Son hath life ὁ ἔχων τὸν υἱὸν ἔχει τὴν ζωὴν; and he that hath not the Son of God hath not life" ὁ μὴ ἔχων τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ζωὴν οὐκ ἔχει (I John v,12)¹⁰⁹

The Christological dimension of the passage gives a meaning to the hope for eternal life which is quite unlike that which is found in the Scrolls. The expression "hath not life" above, in effect signifies that the one who does not have the Son of God has death. Hence the antithetical position of each group. That John identifies the concept of eternal life as being associated with a belief in Jesus Christ is further emphasized in v,13,20.¹¹⁰ It must also be noted that this 'eternal life' for those who believe in His Son, Jesus Christ, is based upon a promise of God, "This is the promise that he hath promised us, the eternal life" καὶ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπαγγελία ἣν αὐτὸς ἐπηγγέλατο ἡμῖν, τὴν ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον (I John ii,25). John has asserted that "ye may know that ye have eternal life ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὅτι ζωὴν ἔχετε αἰώνιον" (I John v,13). Earlier he had written, "Beloved, now are we the sons of God, ἀγαπητοί, νῦν τέκνα θεοῦ ἐσμεν and what we shall be is not yet disclosed (made manifest) καὶ οὕτω ἐφανερώθη τί ἐσόμεθα We do know that when he shall be made manifest (at his parousia), we shall be like him; for we shall see him as he is" οἴομεν ὅτι ἐὰν φανερωθῇ ὁμοιοὶ αὐτῷ ἐσόμεθα, ὅτι ὁφόμεθα αὐτὸν καθὼς ἐστίν (I John iii,2).¹¹¹

Once again, it must be seen that it is the love of the Father to man, in the person of His Son, which is the basis for the hope of the believer

¹⁰⁹ "this life is in his Son" καὶ αὕτη ἡ ζωὴ ἐν τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ ἐστίν (I John v,11). Cf. also John i,4; v,24.

¹¹⁰ Refer back to I John i,2.

¹¹¹ Compare I Cor. xiii,12. The early Christian concept of what the eternal life would be like is not so clearly portrayed as in the Manual of Discipline and elsewhere in the Scrolls.

The dualism with reference to the 'life-death' antithesis is related to metaphysical and eschatological considerations. But it is the Christological aspect and the use of the 'agape' concept which gives the very different meaning to the dualism in the Epistle as compared to the Scrolls.

The author of the Epistle has written, "Behold, what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us" ἴδετε ποταπὴν ἀγάπην δέδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ πατήρ that we should be called children of God ἵνα τέκνα θεοῦ κληθῶμεν (I John iii,1). It was shown earlier with reference to the Qumran Scrolls that there is the 'love-hatred' antithesis. Likewise, mention has been made earlier in this chapter of the hatred which characterizes the 'children of the devil' in the metaphysical conflict in the cosmos. Now it remains to see the nature of the love-hatred antithesis in the First Epistle of John and then to further explore the implications of the 'love of God' within the framework of the dualism of the Epistle with respect to determinism or free-willism.

The antithesis of 'love-hatred' in the Epistle is primarily concerned with the relationship of the 'children of God' to the 'children of the devil'; or, with one another. For instance, "He that loveth his brother abideth in the light" ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ φωτὶ μένει (I John ii,10). In contradistinction, "He that hateth his brother is in darkness, and walketh in darkness" ὁ δὲ μισῶν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ ἐστὶν καὶ ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ περιπατεῖ (ii,11). Also, "Whoever hates his brother is a murderer" πᾶς ὁ μισῶν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἀνθρωποκτόνος ἐστίν (iii,15).¹¹² In addition, there is the idea that "if a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar" ἐάν τις εἴπῃ ὅτι ἀγαπῶ τὸν θεόν, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ μισῶ, ψεύστης ἐστίν (I John iv,20).¹¹³

¹¹²

This term is used also of the devil in John viii,44. The act of murder is the result of hatred.

¹¹³

The devil is a liar and the father of it (John viii,44).

It can be argued that a parallelism is to be seen between the Epistle and the Scrolls in that the injunction is that the initiate into the Christian brotherhood ought to love his brethren (as in I John iii,14)¹¹⁴ which might be interpreted to mean that as the initiates into the Qumran community were to "love all that He has chosen and hate all that He has despised (I QS i,3-4);¹¹⁵ so, the Christian was to love those who had confessed that Jesus Christ is God's son and have received induction into the community by baptism. It is repeated that "we should love one another" "ὅτι αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ἀγγελία ἣν ἠκούσατε ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἵνα ἀγαπῶμεν ἀλλήλους (I John iii,11).¹¹⁶

There are differences however, in spite of the seeming similarities. In the first instance, the Epistle does not suggest anywhere that God has chosen anyone; nor does it suggest that God has hated anyone; or, that the initiate should hate anyone. Hatred is associated, in the use of the various antitheses, with darkness, death, the Devil, and the cosmos. Even as there is no darkness at all with God, so the community of believers are to walk in the light, in the truth, to abide in him, to love. Further, it cannot be said that the Love of God is manifested solely for the one who knows and believes; for, it is written in the Epistle that the love of God was manifested toward us (I John iv,9) because God sent his only begotten son into the world. But, John had earlier asserted that "he is the propitiation for our sins; and not for our's only, οὐ περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων δὲ μόνον but also for (the sins of) the whole world" ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου (I John ii,2).¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ I John ii,10; iii,10; iv,20, 21. Cf. especially the reference to 'loving the Children of God', v,2.

¹¹⁶ Compare I John iv,7,11,12. and also iii,23. The one that loveth not his brother is not of God. Cf. I John iii,10.

¹¹⁵ Cf. also IQS i,9 where the initiates are instructed to love the sons of light and; i,11 to 'hate all the sons of darkness.

¹¹⁷ God sent his only begotten son into the world. Cf. I John iv,9,10, iii,16; John iii,16.

While it is clear that the 'world' and the 'community of the believers' stand in an antithetical relationship in the Epistle, it is also clear that the 'love of God' which was manifested in the gift of His Son Jesus Christ was not restricted, for instance, solely to a group who had not sinned. The Epistle states that "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves ἐὰν εἴπωμεν ὅτι ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἔχομεν ἑαυτοὺς πλανῶμεν and the truth is not in us καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἡμῖν (I John i,8). Likewise, "If we say that we have not sinned, we make him a liar ἐὰν εἴπωμεν ὅτι οὐχ ἡμαρτήκαμεν, ψεύστην ποιοῦμεν αὐτὸν and his word is not in us καὶ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἡμῖν (I John i,10). The point of these assertions in this context is that the author of the Epistle is explicitly saying that all men, and this includes the 'children of God' and the 'children of the devil', have sinned. In this, man stands quite apart from the Father and the Son in their perfect righteousness and light.¹¹⁸ That John teaches that some, i.e., the fellowship of the believers, may walk in the light as 'children of God' is the central message of the Epistle. John said that, "these things I write unto you in order that your joy might be full" καὶ ταῦτα γράφομεν ἡμεῖς ἵνα ἡ χαρὰ ἡμῶν ᾗ πεπληρωμένη (I John i,4).

At this juncture, having attempted to set forth the chief aspects of the dualism in the First Epistle of John, as these are reflected in his graphic use of the antitheses and other rhetorical figures, it may be inquired whether the author has set forth in his Epistle a determinism also which might parallel the determinism of the Qumran Scrolls?

In the first place, there is no statement in the Epistle to the effect that God, in the creative act, placed the Two Spirits, of Truth

¹¹⁸

Cf. I John i,5; ii,1; i,9; iii,7.

and of Perversity, in each person and then determined which of these Two Spirits would dominate the behaviour of the individual, as in the Scrolls (I QS iii,24-25; iv,23-26; xi,10-11). There is, in the Epistle, no statement that God has chosen some for eternal life and some for damnation, as in the Scrolls (IQS xi,7-8; iv,25-26). There is no statement to the effect that the just and the unjust were set apart from the womb for the role they were to play in this life and for the ultimate destiny which each would share (I QH xv,14-19). There is no assertion that these Two Spirits, by the design and purpose of God control the seasons and the whole of the natural forces in the Cosmos as in I QH i,6-19.

At the same time, apart from any other distinction which might be made, there is no being spoken of in any of the Scrolls who can correspond to 'his Son Jesus Christ' as He is set forth in the Epistle. As this study has attempted to show, it is the Christological dimension of the various facets of the dualism of John's Epistle which gives a significance and meaning to his views which have no parallel in the Scrolls; even though, at times, similarities and parallelisms do appear in the figures and metaphors and antitheses which are employed. And, quite apart from the fact that both literatures do utilize the 'love-hate antithesis' in at least a limited fashion; still, the true significance of the 'agape' concept in the Epistle has no corresponding usage in the Scrolls.

It appears from the evidence which has been cited that the authors of the Scrolls and the author of the First Epistle of John were all confronted with a dualistic world-view in which evil forces opposed the forces of truth and light. Even the cosmological forces, though similar with reference to certain beings, are not always identical. For, in the Epistle there is no being to correspond to the 'prince of light' (I QS iii,20), (there is no 'angel of Mastemah') or to many of the other good

and evil angels which are designated in the Scrolls and who play important rolls in the metaphysical conflict which the Scrolls describe.

Each of these literatures sought, in its own way, to solve the conundrum which the presence of evil and the consequences of evil in the lives of men and in nature presents when they considered these things in the light of their basic pre-suppositions about God and His relationship to nature and to the creatures of His creation. It seems clear that the theologians of the Qumran community sought to resolve their problems through their application of a deterministic solution. As was earlier pointed out, even in their Scrolls, free-will sentiments were occasionally expressed; but, the dominant viewpoint was one of total determinism. Their deterministic sentiments are not those of a complete system of thought; but, are more the musings of men who sought to solve the problems which their dualistic and eschatological concepts had raised. It is clear that their solution cannot be considered complete or entirely consistent from this vantage point.

At the same time, the author of the Epistle does not attempt to portray a metaphysical thought structure which corresponds to that of the Scrolls. His answer to the problems which his dualistic notions raise is primarily to be found in his employment of the 'love of God' as this relates to the soteriology and eschatology of his Epistle. To summarize what the implications of the 'agape' concept might mean to resolving the dualism of the Epistle the following ideas may be helpful.

In the Epistle, the 'agape' concept seems to revolve around two chief aspects. The first is that which relates to the being, character and the manifest activity of God towards the Cosmos (I John ii,2); but, most particularly, to the 'sons of God' (I John iii,1). Even these ideas are not complete. But they do have importance in that they point to the solution of the Epistle to the dualistic dilemma of the cosmos.

John concedes that "no man hath seen God at any time" θεὸν οὐ-
δεὶς πώποτε τεθέαται (I John iv,12); and yet, he asserts that "God
 is love" ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἀγάπη ἐστίν (I John iv,8,16). John does not
 attempt a philosophical definition of love, as such; but chooses rather
 to explain that the love of God was manifested because God sent his only
 begotten Son into the world so that we might live through him (Cf. iv,9).
 Whether, in doing this redemptive act, God determined that some or all
 men would be saved irrespective of their relationship to the action of
 God in and through His Son is not a question to which John precisely
 speaks; that is, he does not write that God has determined or not deter-
 mined the choice and destiny of the individual.

But, there are aspects of the Epistle which relate to a second
 great part of the "Agape" concept which point to John's solution to
 the issue. John, early in his Epistle, states that what was seen and
 heard was being declared unto those to whom he wrote "that ye also may
 have fellowship with us" ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς κοινωνίαν ἔχητε μεθ' ἡμῶν
 (I John i,3). It might be asked whether this possibility was thought of
 in the mind of John, that men might join the fellowship because it had
 been pre-determined by God that they should do so. But John does not
 assert any such thing. For instance he does not suggest that their very
 position within the community of believers was pre-determined by God, as
 was believed by the Qumran initiates (I QS ii,19-22).

There are statements in the Epistle which would indicate that it
 is the individual response to the Love of God which becomes the determin-
 ing factor. For men may choose to join or to leave the 'fellowship'
 (I John i,3; ii,19). Mention is made of doing the "will of God" ὁ δὲ
πολὺν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (I John ii,17).
 There are those who love the world (ii,15,16) who stand in polarity to
 those who do the will of God. There are those who "keep his commandments,

and do those things which are pleasing in his sight" (I John iii,22; Cf. also ii,3,4,7,8,; iii,23,24; iv,21; v,2,3). In John's Epistle men may know God or they may not know him (I John ii,3,5,13,14; iii,24; iv,6,7; as compared to those who know not God iii,1,6; iv,8). Men have known and believed as in I John iv,16, "καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐγνώκαμεν καὶ πεπιστεύκαμεν τὴν ἀγάπην ἣν ἔχει ὁ θεὸς ἐν ἡμῖν". The response of individuals may be said to reside in the choice which has been made in the sense of the functioning of freewill; as the following three statements might indicate, "Ye are of God" ὅμοις ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστε, "They are of the world" αὐτοὶ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου εἰσίν "we are of God" ἡμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐσμεν (I John iv,4,5,6).

John does not address himself directly to the question as to exactly 'why' or 'how' these individuals are standing in such opposed relationships to God. He did not ask the question, as such; nor did he give a precise answer to the question. But, as mentioned before there is importance given throughout His Epistle to the individual response. The Epistle states that the 'beloved' should not believe every spirit' Ἀγαπητοί, μὴ παντὶ πνεύματι πιστεύετε but try the spirits whether they are of God ἀλλὰ δοκιμάζετε τὰ πνεύματα εἰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστίν (I John iv,1).

The individual response is again shown in John's reference to those who 'confess' their belief in Jesus Christ (I John iv,2; iv,15); as compared to those who 'confess not' their belief in Jesus (I John iv, 3) but actually 'deny' the Son (I John ii,22-23). The importance of the individual response in 'overcoming the world' is clear. John has written "this is the victory that overcometh the world, the faith of us" καὶ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ νίκη ἡ νικήσασα τὸν κόσμον, ἡ πίστις ἡμῶν (I John v,4). If the individual response is shown in the matters of

'confessing', 'believing', and having 'faith'; it is even more clearly set forth with relationship to the individual response of 'love'. It is clear that John views men as they who 'love God'; and, they who 'do not love God' (I John iv,7-8). There can be no doubt that John saw even the love of one for another as being of God. For he wrote, "love is of God ὅτι ἡ ἀγάπη ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστίν (I John iv,7). This operation of divine love in the response of the individual is resultant from the 'being born of God' (I John iv,7; v,1).

But the response of love in the individual is grounded upon the love which God has towards us. Love begets love. "If God so loved us, εἰ οὕτως ὁ θεὸς ἠγάπησεν ἡμᾶς we ought also to love one another". καὶ ἡμεῖς ὀφείλομεν ἀλλήλους ἀγαπᾶν (I John iv,11). Hence, the Epistle sets forth the Love of God, manifest in His Son Jesus Christ, as the very basis for individual human response. John does not ask if it is possible for some to believe and others not to believe as though God had set a rigid determinism into play in the human arena. Johannine theology sets forth the plan and purposes of God for the salvation of man in the Gift of His Son. In the Gospel of John it is set forth that "whosoever believeth in him πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων εἰς αὐτὸν should not perish, but have everlasting life μὴ ἀπόληται ἀλλ' ἔχῃ ζωὴν αἰώνιον (John iii,16). In the Epistle, the belief in God is built upon the experience of knowing and believing the love that God hath to us (iv,16); and it finds full fruition in the total response of loving God in return—and in loving one another. This belief takes a concrete expression in the participant making a 'confession of Jesus Christ as the Son of God' and accepting the cleansing, the forgiveness, the anointing, the witness, and all of the other spiritual aspects which point to his baptism. Within the love of God, he is free to love or not to love. John sees the love

of God within the dualism of the cosmos. God has a plan and a purpose which centers in His Son. In the Epistle, 'whosoever' believes ὁ πιστεύων (I John v,1; Cf. also iii,9; v,18) is born of God and sinneth not; that is, he has no allegiance to the world or the Devil and does not habitually sin by nature (knowing that if he should commit a sin he may confess it and be forgiven and cleansed (i,9) from all unrighteousness). The choice is with the individual.

It is concluded from the foregoing discussion that one cannot see in the dualism of the Epistle of John any parallelism to the determinism of the literature of the Qumran Community even though there are numerous parallelisms and similarities in the antitheses and other figures which are employed. Qumran seems to have sought the answer to the dualism they set forth in a theological determinism. John's Epistle, while setting forth a dualism, found its answer in the "agape" concept as it centers in the atonement of Jesus Christ. Neither literature fully answers all questions which might be raised. But each ought to be seen as setting forth distinctive viewpoints which seemed to be consistent with other eschatological and metaphysical viewpoints which were held. For in the final analysis, in each instance, the dualism and determinism/or/Love principle must be viewed in the whole of the teachings of the community concerned.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

In comparing the Qumran literature with the First Epistle of John, it quickly becomes obvious that certain aspects of the Qumran doctrine of creation point to a tension between the Scrolls and the Epistle and the Old Testament canonical writings as well. To account for the origin and continued existence of evil in the cosmos, as is done in the Qumran Scrolls, by affirming that God has created 'Two Spirits' of Truth and Perversity and that He controls the distribution and operation of these Spirits in all of nature and in the lives of each individual distinguishes the concept of God and creation from all others; even though there may be hints of the idea in other sources. The doctrine makes God responsible for darkness and evil; an idea which the Epistle rejects in its affirmation that there is no darkness in Him at all.

In effect, the dualistic notions of the Scrolls stand in tension with their monotheistic assertions. And, in spite of their demonology and angelology in the frame of reference of their cosmology and metaphysics, it must be questioned whether their teachings represent anything more than a quasi-dualism which may reflect external influences such as Iranian, Greek and possibly Indian or other Oriental systems.

Likewise, even though this study has suggested that the Qumran community held a deterministic world-view, it cannot be overlooked that their writings and practices did allow for activities which expressed 'free-will' possibilities. There is a tension in their writings which suggests that their determinism was not so rigid as might appear to men viewing their writings from a twentieth century perspective. What may appear from this vantage point to have been inconsistencies may not have been viewed as such by the men of Qumran. The main thrust of their writings was eschatological and soteriological; and, the dualistic and

deterministic notions may have been more or less incidental to the development of their basic ideas. One of the tensions in the Scrolls revolves around the fact that the Sectaries rejected the possibility of self determination of man's destiny in this life or the next by his own free choice, or by limiting God's power in this regard, in that they taught that both good and evil arouse out of the creation by God. Their dualistic sentiments appear to be, in effect, the basis for their deterministic notions. Their deterministic sentiments literally mitigate against their dualism. The dualism of the Scrolls is only rudimentary and might more properly be termed 'dualistic inclinations'. Possibly the Qumran Sectaries thought that the resolution of the problems which resulted from the tension between their avowed monotheism and their dualistic sentiments would be resolved as a result of their belief in certain eschatological events when history would reach its climax at some future day of judgment and rewards.

By comparison, the First Epistle of John presents concepts which have no counterpart in the Qumran Scrolls. The emphasis is not upon the creation; and, there is no specific assertion that evil was created by God. There is no angelology in the Epistle; but a degree of parallelism exists with reference to the Devil. The dualism of the Epistle may also be termed a quasi-dualism in that Satan is not an equal counterpart of God; but, the opponent of God and the children of God.

There is no one in the Scrolls who can correspond to the person and being of Jesus Christ. The Christology of the Epistle stands totally apart--unique--when the literatures are compared. And, as was earlier mentioned, even though there is a slight similarity in that there is mention in both literatures of the 'love-hate' antithesis; still, the 'agape' concept of John's first Epistle finds no parallel in the Scrolls at all. The Epistle depicts that the 'love of God' for the 'whole world' is

centered in the redemptive act of Jesus Christ. Eternal life is in Jesus. The blood of Jesus cleanses us from sin. We ought to walk as Jesus walked. Our fellowship is with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ. The believer must confess that Jesus is the Son of God. The hope of the believer is in the 'parousia' of Jesus. The believer may have 'boldness' before God in the day of Judgment. The parallelism is there in that the eschatological teachings in both instances seem to be a part of the solution to the questions raised by the presence of sin and evil in the cosmos created by God.

Even though there is mention of the 'Spirit of Truth' and of the 'Spirit of Perversity (error)' in the Epistle, there really is no exact counterpart to the doctrine of the 'Two Spirits' as it is developed in the Scrolls. Nor, can there be found any parallelism to the Johannine doctrine of the 'Spirit' who is the one bearing 'witness' because the 'spirit is the truth' (I John v,6) in the writings of the Scrolls. The relationship of the 'Spirit' and of the Son Jesus Christ to the Father as set forth, incompletely, in the Epistle still have no parallel in the Scrolls.

It must be borne in mind that the Qumran people were basically monotheists. But they were confronted, as are all men, with the problem of reconciling God's affirmed omnipotence with the depravity that surrounded them and which each covenanter knew to be present within himself. It may well be that we today in looking at their dualistic sentiments have more of a problem in seeking to reconcile their ideas with their monotheistic presupposition than they did. Likewise, with respect to their certain practices and statements which suggest the possibility that they did allow a certain measure of 'free-will'. Their teachings about repentance and confession and forgiveness; and, the concept that the individual is able, upon the basis of his response, to seek

admission into the community; and also, to gain readmission into the community should he have been previously expelled for infractions of the rules providing he makes the proper response all suggest that the rigidity of their deterministic concepts was somewhat compromised in practice by 'free-will' sentiments. It is as essential for men today to seek to assess correctly their monotheistic teaching as it is to attempt to assess their dualistic and deterministic sentiments.

The First Epistle of John sets forth the importance of the individual response in more frequent references while at the same time it is conspicuous for the absence of overt statements which could be considered the counterpart of the deterministic sentiments of the Scrolls. Confession of sins, knowing and believing, loving God and one another, and having a faith that overcomes the world, as well as 'keeping yourselves from idols', all stand as illustrations of the individual response. Several of these have their antitheses; such as the one who knows not, the one who believes not, and the one who does not love God or his brother.

The conditionality of the individual responses to the love and provisions of God also tends to reinforce the possibilities of a 'free-will' viewpoint in the Epistle. However, there are no clear-cut statements in the Epistle which are delineated in language comparable to that in the Scrolls which sets forth their deterministic sentiments. One cannot but observe that the 'love of God' in sending and giving his Son Jesus Christ does not depend upon any response of men. That 'God loved the whole world' stands out in the mind of John as the highpoint in his theology.

Those who may wish to deduct a 'determinism' based upon the Epistle may have some basis for their conclusion built upon this interventive action of God. The reference in iii,24 to the "Spirit which he

hath given us" could possibly be interpreted to reinforce a kind of determinism. The statement in iv,7 that "love is of God", coming as it does in the context of the remarks about loving one another, could also be interpreted to mean that even the individual response of loving God and of loving one another is of God.

But, it is suggested that the chief objective of the writing of this Epistle does not relate to solving the determinism-freewill problem. The issue is not directly raised by the author. In fact the emphasis upon the 'agape' concept seems to overshadow the issue completely. God is love; God has so loved us; we ought to love God and one another--this is the message of the Epistle. One might not say precisely that John substituted the 'agape' concept for the determinism of the Scrolls. It is doubtful that his Epistle was written with the Scrolls before him. But he was confronted with certain issues which are the common lot of man. His solution was couched in the 'Agape' concept.

That the Scrolls and the Epistle do employ certain similar antitheses and that they do share some common points of teaching is obvious. But when these two literatures are compared with other Jewish and Christian literature of the epoch as well as with the thought of other cultures, it is clear that the various cultures of the era were in possession of what might be termed a 'community of knowledge' which was transmitted in the form of aphorisms, traditions, folklore and an extensive literary heritage. To some extent this legacy was shared by the whole of the Near East, Iran, India and other areas as well. In each case, authors drew from this common fund of knowledge and transmuted the ideas to suit their individual ends. The antitheses particularly were useful to all; but, were they not, in most instances, a part of human experience, universally?

The Qumran Scrolls and the First Epistle of John--each of these literatures sought to lead men to God and to prepare the members of the communities for life eternal. We today owe a debt of gratitude to the Sectaries of the Qumran Community for having preserved their precious library of Scrolls. We should understand the First Epistle of John and the whole of the New Testament writings and era better for having studied them.

Abbreviations

ALUOS	The Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society, Leiden.
AOASH	Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest.
BA	Biblical Archaeologist, New Haven, Conn.
BASÖR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research Library, New Haven, Conn.
BBB	Bonner Biblische Beiträge, Bonn.
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester.
BO	Bibliotheca Orientalis, Leiden.
BPES	Bulletin of the Palestine Exploration Society, Jerusalem.
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.
BZ	Biblische Zeitschrift, Paderborn.
BSatW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, Giessen.
ExpT	The Expository Times, Edinburgh.
HTR	Harvard Theological Review, Cambridge, U.S.A.
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal, Jerusalem.
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven, Conn.
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature, Philadelphia.
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago.
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review, Philadelphia.
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies, Manchester.
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies, Oxford.
NRT	Nouvelle Revue Théologique, London.
NTS	New Testament Studies, Cambridge.
PAAJR	Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research, Philadelphia.
PQS	Palestine Exploration Fund; Quarterly Statement, London.
PSBA	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, London.
RB	Revue Biblique, Paris.
Rech. Bibl.	Recherches Bibliques, Louvain.
RGG	Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1957ff.
RQ	Revue de Qumran, Paris.
RThPh	Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie, Lausanne.
Scr. Hierosol.	Scripta Hierosolymitana, Jerusalem.
Scr. Jud.	Scripta Judaica, Oxford.
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah, Leiden.
ThLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung, Halle; Berlin.
ThWNT	Theologische Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, Stuttgart.
ThZ	Theologische Zeitschrift, Basel.
VoxTheol	Vox Theologica, Assen (Holland).
VT	Vetus Testamentum, Leiden.
ZThK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, Tübingen.
ZeezNauKUL	Zeszyty Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, Lublin.

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The Dualism of "Flesh and Spirit" in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament.

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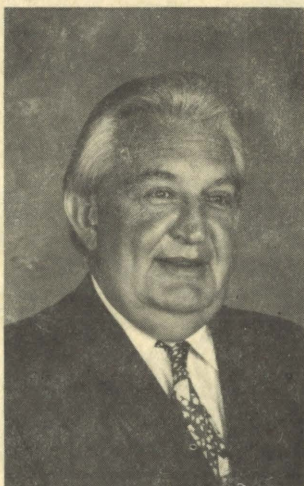
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